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THE TEACHINGS OF RENNYO SHŌNIN: THE LIFE OF FAITH

BY

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One of the characteristics of recent Western discussions of Japanese Pure Land Buddhist tradition is that the focus of attention has usually centered upon the life and teachings of Hōnen Shōnin (1133-1212 and Shinran Shōnin (1173-1262), the founders of Jōdo Shū (Pure Land School) and Jōdo Shinshū (True Pure Land School) respectively.¹⁾ At the same time, there have been significant attempts to understand Japanese Pure Land Buddhism within the context of its earlier developments in India and China.²⁾ In spite of this, the usual presupposition underlying current discussions of Japanese Pure Land thought and practice is that Shinran's use of the tradition in interpreting his own unique religious insights, especially his doctrine of faith, carried Pure Land tradition to its "highest", and therefore doctrinally normative development.³⁾ It is precisely because there is much truth in this notion that little attention has been paid to the development of Pure Land thought and practice beyond the age of Shinran.

Consequently, the purpose of this essay is to focus upon the ethical

1) For example, see Alfred Bloom, *Shinran's Gospel of Pure Grace* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1968) and "The Life of Shinran Shōnin: The Journey to Self-Acceptance," *Numen*, vol. 15 (1968), pp. 1-62. Also cf. Douglas A. Fox, "Soteriology in Jōdo Shin and Christianity," *Contemporary Religions in Japan*, vol. 9, nos. 1-2 (March-June 1968), pp. 30-51 and two of my own studies, "Shinran Shōnin and Martin Luther: A Soteriological Comparison," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, vol. 39, no. 4 (December 1971), pp. 430-477 and "The Zen Critique of Pure Land Buddhism," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, vol. 41, no. 2 (June 1973), pp. 184-200.

2) The best current Western study in this regard is Allan A. Andrews, *The Teachings Essential for Rebirth: A Study of Genshin's Ōjōyōshū* (Tōkyō: Sophia University Press, 1973).

3) See Bloom, *Shinran's Gospel of Pure Grace*, pp. vii-xiv and especially pp. 77-88. I must also admit that this conviction has been an important factor in my studies of Japanese Pure Land tradition as well.

interpretation of Shinran's thought in the work of Rennyo Shōnin (1414-1499), who is considered by its devotees to be the "second founder" of Jōdo Shinshū. The basic assumption of this essay is that even though Shinran's teachings did indeed become a normative doctrinal system beyond which nothing could be structurally added, Pure Land faith and practice did not thereby become frozen and static after his death. Later devotees were constantly faced with the question of the nature of the life of faith, that is, with interpreting the implications of Shinran's doctrine of faith for the life of the devotee within the ever-changing social and political situation of feudal Japan. There was also the necessity of creating an organizational structure whereby the teachings of Shinran could be preserved from certain "heretical" interpretations and protected from attack, at times quite violent, by the established schools of Buddhism and the civil authorities. Rennyo is important because he is the first Pure Land thinker after Shinran to devote himself entirely to the question of the ethical, social, and political implications of Shinran's teachings for the life of faith of the devotee. He is also important because the process whereby Jōdo Shinshū became an independent and organized school of Buddhism began under his leadership. It is primarily for these reasons that he is regarded as the "second founder" of Jōdo Shinshū.

The procedure we shall follow will be relatively simple. First, it will be necessary to briefly describe the historical context within which Rennyo lived and worked, since everything he taught was related to the social, religious, and political situation in which he and his followers found themselves. In this section, it will also be necessary to summarize the essential content of Shinran's doctrine of faith so as to provide the religious context through which Rennyo understood his task as a Pure Land teacher. The second section of this study will be a presentation of the essential structure of Rennyo's ethical interpretation of Shinran's doctrine of faith. Here we shall discuss four themes of his thought: the Pure Land devotee's proper attitude and responsibilities towards the Shintō deities and non-Pure Land Buddhist teachings and practices, the devotee's individual moral and social obligations, the devotee's relationship to the civil authorities, and his doctrine of "vocation." It must be clearly understood that these themes are not separate and unrelated topics in Rennyo's Pure Land thought. They are interrelated. Each involves the other, and following Rennyo's example, we shall treat them as such.

Historical background

It is a well known fact that Shinran never intended to establish a new and independent school of Buddhism. It was his opinion that he was merely teaching a form of doctrine and practice suitable for beings living in the age of *mapphō* which he had “received” from his teacher Hōnen, whom he revered as the most important figure in the history of Buddhism.⁴⁾ He thus understood himself as a follower and receiver of the teaching whose only task was to clarify the intention of Hōnen, while at the same time defending his master’s teachings from all heretical interpretations. For this reason, Shinran refused to call any of his followers “disciples,” but instead referred to them as *dōgyō* (fellow followers).⁵⁾

However, after Shinran’s retirement in Kyōto, his “fellow followers” began to form informal religious associations or fellowships called *monto* (followers), and quite soon after his death in 1262, they became known as the *ikkō shū*, or “one directed” or “single minded sect,” because of their intense dedication to preserving Shinran’s memory and teachings. In 1274 Shinran’s daughter, Kakushinni (1222-1281), established her father’s mausoleum in the Ōtani district of Kyōto with the understanding that her descendents were to be its hereditary custodians. This was the beginning of the institutionalization process which was completed by Rennyo. At any rate, under Kakushini’s grandson, Kakunyo (d. 1351), Shinran’s mausoleum became known as the Honganji, or “Temple of the Original Vow.”

Until Rennyo’s tenure as the eighth chief priest or abbot of the Honganji Temple, a nominal affiliation was maintained with the Tendai monastic center on Mount Hiei. It was Rennyo who destroyed

4) The *Tannishō* (Notes Lamenting the Differences) records the following saying of Shinran concerning his relationship to Hōnen: “I shall have no regrets even though I should be deceived by Hōnen, and thus by uttering *nembutsu* should fall into hell... If Hōnen’s sayings are true, then what I, Shinran, say cannot possibly be false.” *Shinshū Shōgyō Zenshō*, vol. II (Kyōto: Kōkyō Shōin, 1958), p. 774. The *Tannishō* is a collection of Shinran’s sayings compiled by his disciple Yuien Bō for the purpose of clarifying the implications of Shinran’s teachings in relation to various questions that had arisen within the community of his followers after his death. The *Shinshū Shōgyō Zenshō*, hereafter abbreviated *SSZ*, is a five volume critical edition of Pure Land texts. This work shall provide the primary source material upon which this study is based. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of Pure Land texts are my own.

5) *Tannishō*, *SSZ*, II, p. 777.

all the ornaments, symbols, and scriptures having Tendai trappings that were used in the devotional and cultic practices at the Honganji Temple. By this act, Rennyo declared the full independence of Jōdo Shinshū as a legitimate school of Buddhism, although his claim was not legally recognized until the early seventeenth century by the Tokugawa shogunate. In retaliation, the monks of Mount Hiei burned the Honganji Temple to the ground, thus initiating a long period of sharp conflict not only with the religious establishment, but also with the political authorities, which lasted well into the fifteenth century. It was these ensuing religious and political conflicts which more than any other factor forced Jōdo Shinshū, under Rennyo's leadership, to create an organizational system for the purpose of protecting itself against very real threats to its existence. At the same time, the ethical and social implications of Shinran's teachings also became a matter of ultimate concern.

Thus under Rennyo's leadership, Jōdo Shinshū was transformed into a tightly knit religious-political organization which, in order to defend itself and the teachings of Shinran, was ready to, and in fact did, take up arms against the rival schools of Buddhism and the civil authorities. This was especially true during the Ōnin War (1467) in which Pure Land devotees were involved in several confrontations with the religious and political establishment. There were also several armed uprisings of Jōdo Shinshū devotees, called *ikkō-ikki* (Uprising of the Ikkō Believers), in the years 1473, 1474, 1487, and 1488. In all probability, Rennyo was involved in these conflicts.⁶⁾

The general details of Rennyo's biography are quite clear.⁷⁾ He was born on the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month in the twenty-second year of Ōei (1414) in the Ōtani district of Kyōto. His father, Zonnyo, was at this time the chief priest of the Honganji Temple. Rennyo was called Hotei or Kotei in his younger days, but after his ordination at the Shōren'in Temple at the age of seventeen, he was given the priestly name Kenyu. In 1447, at the age of thirty-three, he went on a pilgrimage to the Kantō region to visit the places where Shinran had lived and taught during his exile there. Ten years later,

6) On the subject of the *Ikkō* uprisings, see Kasahara Kazuo, *Ikkō-ikki* (Tōkyō: 1959).

7) The following information is based upon Tamura Enchō, *Nihon Bukkyō Shisō-shi Kenkyū: Jōdo-kyō Hen* (Kyōto: 1959).

upon the death of his father, he became the chief priest of the Honganji Temple. Three years after this, in 1460, he published the first of only two works which came directly from his own hand called *Shōshinge Taii* (A Summary on the Gātha on True Faith in Nembutsu).⁸⁾ This work, written in *kana* and Chinese characters, is essentially a commentary on Shinran's hymns, the *Shōshinge*.⁹⁾ Rennyo's second literary effort is a very short statement of what he considered to be the essential nature of Pure Land faith and practice called the *Ryōgemon* (Essay on Understanding).¹⁰⁾ This work is a confession of faith which Rennyo created for the purpose of setting the minimal doctrinal standards of correct belief. As such, it is basically a creed which was recited, and still is, at all Pure Land gatherings.

In 1466, when Rennyo was fifty-one years old, the Honganji Temple was attacked and destroyed by the warrior-monks of Mount Hiei because of his attempts to disestablish Jōdo Shinshū from Tendai tradition. Rennyo had to flee for his life, thus beginning a long period of conflict with the religious and civil authorities that was never fully resolved until many years after his death. It is in this period of his life that his teachings concerning the moral, social, and political implications of Pure Land doctrine and practice assumed their final form. After the destruction of the Honganji Temple, he and his followers fled to Katada, but the center he built there was burned down by a mob four years later. In spite of the danger in which he and his followers found themselves after this event, Rennyo still continued to teach and organize his followers into a disciplined and tightly knit organization. In 1471 he built another center at Yoshizaki, Echizen, Fukui Prefecture. This center was also destroyed four years later, and again Rennyo and his followers had to flee for their lives. He spent the next two years as an itinerant teacher, wandering through Wakasa, Tango, and Tanba gathering more followers as he went. Finally in 1477, he settled in Deguchi in present-day Ōsaka Prefecture

8) SSZ, III, pp. 385-401.

9) Literally, *Gātha (Verses) on True Faith in Nembutsu*. This poem is placed at the end of the Chapter on Practice in Shinran's most systematic doctrinal presentation, the *Kyōgyōshinshō* (Testimony on True Teaching, Practice, and Faith). See SSZ, II, pp. 43-46.

10) SSZ, III, p. 529. The Honganji Branch of present-day Jōdo Shinshū pronounces the characters of this work *Ryōgemon*. The Ōtani Branch calls this work *Gaikemon*. Different Chinese characters are involved in each case.

and tried again to establish a permanent center for the teaching of Pure Land doctrine and practice. This attempt was also unsuccessful, for he had to leave the following year under violent circumstances. He next settled in Yamashima in Kyōto, where he had by this time gained some influence among the political leaders of the city, and built a rather large temple which took four years to complete. Here he retired in 1489 at the age of seventy-five, although he continued teaching and organizing. During the period of his "retirement" he also established another temple in Ishiyama in Ōsaka in 1496. Three years later, death brought an end to his turbulent career at the age of eighty-five.

In spite of the fact that Rennyo produced only two written works, there are other sources which are of great importance for understanding his life and teachings. The *Ofumi* (Letters)¹¹⁾ is a five volume collection of essays, sermons, and personal correspondence which was compiled by his grandson, Ennyo (1491-1521). There is also an important memoir on Rennyo most likely compiled by several of his disciples, whose exact identities are unknown, after his death called the *Rennyo Shōnin Goichidaiki Kikigaki* (Record of the Sayings of Rennyo Shōnin).¹²⁾ Another source which should be mentioned, although it was not written by a Jōdo Shinshū author, but is rather the product of the Seizan-ha branch of Jōdo Shū, is the *Anjinketsujō Shō* (A Treatise on the Fixing of Faith).¹³⁾ Rennyo was quite fond of this text because he regarded its teachings about the nature and origin of faith a similar to Shinran's.

From even a cursory reading of the *Shōshinge Taii* and the *Ofumi*, it is quite clear that Rennyo made no significant advances upon the Pure Land thought of Shinran, whom he regarded as a Bodhisattva.¹⁴⁾

11) *Ibid.*, pp. 402-518.

12) *Ibid.*, pp. 531-614. Several memoirs on Rennyo were compiled after his death. Others include *Jitsugoki*, *Hogouragaki*, *Yamashina Renshoki*, *Kūzen Nikki*, *Rennyo Shōnin On Monogatari*, and *Rennyo Shōnin Ōse no Jōjō Tsuratsura Kikigaki*.

13) *Ibid.*, pp. 615-638. The author of this treatise is unknown, although scholars of the Higashi Branch of Jōdo Shinshū have assumed that it is the work of the third chief priest, Kakunyo (1270-1351). The Ōtani Branch takes this work to be that of an unknown author of the Seizan-ha branch of Jōdo Shū. Cf. Yamamoto Kōshō, *The Words of Saint Rennyo* (Ube City: The Karinbunko, 1968), pp. 176-179.

14) "The Mahāsattvas who promulgated the sūtras and the Bodhisattvas are founders of our school in India, China, and Japan. These teachers, out of compassion for extremely evil and corrupted beings, came into the world. It is for

In fact, Rennyo conceived his sole function as a Pure Land teacher as that of preserving and protecting Shinran's teachings from all false interpretations.¹⁵⁾ For him the last word in matters of doctrine and practice had been spoken by Shinran, so that the only important task left was the application of Shinran's teachings to the contemporary religious, social, and political situation in order to develop a more comprehensive and coherent Pure Land ethic. In other words, what concerned Rennyo most was the nature of the life of faith, and it was to this and this alone that he addressed himself. Consequently, because he accepted the entire structure of Shinran's Pure Land teachings as orthodox doctrine binding upon all Pure Land devotees, it will now be necessary to summarize the main point of Shinran's doctrine of faith in order to provide a clearer picture of the religious context within which Rennyo taught. By so doing, we shall be in a better position to clarify Rennyo's contribution to the tradition which he believed he was merely preserving and defending.

The entire content of Shinran's Pure Land thought may be summed up by the phrase "salvation by faith through absolute other-power alone."¹⁶⁾ Man living in the age of *mappō*,¹⁷⁾ taught Shinran,

this reason that priests and laymen should believe only what each of these noble masters in these three countries taught." *Shōshinge Taii*, *Ibid.*, p. 400.

15) *Ofumi*, *ibid.*, pp. 402-403.

16) *Tariki*, in Japanese. Both Hōnen and Shinran, as well as Genshin and the Chinese Pure Land masters, used this term to denote their own Pure Land teachings. In Shinran's thought, *tariki* stands for total non-reliance upon any sort of self-effort in the attainment of "salvation," meaning rebirth into the Pure Land (*ōjō*). Thus *tariki* is total self-surrender to the objective "other-power" of Amida Buddha to effect one's rebirth into the Pure Land. Opposed to *tariki* is *jiriki*, a technical term Shinran used to refer to all schools of Buddhism other than his own which teach the necessity of self-effort in the practice of religious, meditational, and ethical disciplines as the prerequisite for salvation. Cf. *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary* (Tōkyō: Daitō Shuppansha, 1965), p. 138. I have elsewhere argued that *tariki* is equivalent to Martin Luther's conception of grace. See my article, "Shinran Shōnin and Martin Luther: A Soteriological Comparison," pp. 442 ff.

17) The third of three periods of gradual decay and decline of the effectiveness of Gautama the Buddha's teachings (Dharma) from his death to the present. These periods are, in Japanese: (1) *shōbō*, the period of "correct doctrine," lasting for five hundred years from the time of Shakyamuni's death; (2) *zōbō*, the period of "counterfeit doctrine," lasting for the next one thousand years; and (3) *mappō*, the "latter days of the law," which is a period of final decay and termination of Shakyamuni's Dharma lasting for the next ten thousand years. The presupposition underlying this theory of history is that the age into which

is an essentially evil and depraved ego-centered being who can do nothing by his own efforts to obtain "salvation," understood as either the attainment of enlightenment by means of the traditional methods of meditation, or as rebirth into a Buddha Land by means of moral perfection and devotion to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.¹⁸ All beings living in the age of *mappō* are totally subject to egocentered passions and desires over which they have no control. Consequently, no man is capable of acquiring enough good *karma* through the practice of the traditional soteriological disciplines of Buddhism, all of which depend upon the devotee's "self-power" (*jiriki*) for their successful practice to effect or earn salvation.¹⁹ Therefore, since no man is capable of attaining salvation by means of any kind of self-powered practice or discipline in this degenerate age, man's only option and hope is to trust in the other-power (*tariki*) of Amida Buddha as this is embodied in his forty-eight Bodhisattva Vows, especially the Eighteenth Vow, of the *Muryōjūkyō*.²⁰ In this age, it is faith, which Shinran defined as trust in Amida Buddha and non-reliance upon any form of self-powered contrivance,²¹ which is the sole cause of

one is born determines his mental, physical, and spiritual capacities. Thus no one during the age of *mappō* is able to save himself by means of the traditional self-powered disciplines of Buddhism. For an excellent study of this theory of history and its role in Japanese Buddhism during the Kamakura Period, see Kazue Kyōichi, *Nihon no Mappō Shisō* (Tōkyō: 1961). The Sanskrit terms for these periods are *saddharma*, *pratirūpadharma*, and *paścimadharma* respectively.

18) Cf. *Kyōgyōshinshō*, SSZ, II, pp. 80, 166, 168.

19) *Ibid.*, pp. 156-157.

20) *Ibid.*, p. 166. Also see *Tannishō*, *Ibid.*, p. 777. The Eighteenth Vow reads as follows: "If, when I become a Buddha, all sentient beings in the ten quarters should not desire in sincerity and trustfulness to be reborn into my land, and if they should not be reborn into my land by thinking on me only ten times, excluding only those who have committed the five irreversible actions and have slandered the Dharma, may I not receive perfect enlightenment." *Muryōjūkyō*, SSZ, I, p. 9. The "five irreversible actions" (*gogyakusai*) are: killing one's father, killing one's mother, killing an *arhat*, killing a Buddha or a Bodhisattva, and creating disunity within the community. Person's committing such deeds will never be able to attain enlightenment. However, Shinran taught that even such evil beings as these are saved by Amida's other-power.

21) Shinran defined faith in terms of three elements which he believed could be found in the Eighteenth Vow: (1) the three mental attitudes (*sanshin*) of sincere mind, trustfulness, and desire for rebirth into the Pure Land; (2) the achievement of Buddha Nature; and (3) awareness of one's evil nature and the need for total reliance upon Amida's other-power. For a detailed description of the three elements of faith, see Bloom, *Shinran's Gospel of Pure Grace*, pp. 37-44. Suffice it to say here that each of these three elements of faith are essentially

man's salvation. In Shinran's Pure Land thought, man has absolutely nothing to do with his salvation, for salvation is that which a man passively receives in spite of his moral and spiritual condition.²²⁾ At the same time, because it is Amida who creates within a man the ability to trust his compassionate other-power and to reject all forms of self-power, the only human response that is possible at the moment when faith is graciously established is to live the rest of one's life as an active expression of gratitude for having received this completely unearned and unmerited gift.²³⁾ In this way, Shinran defined the religious life as active service to all sentient beings through concrete acts of compassion, for this is exactly what the devotee has received from Amida Buddha. It is at this point that Shinran's teachings represented a protest against all forms of religious and ethical legalisms. All forms of human action—religious, political, or social—are to be understood not as attempts to earn or gain salvation or any other benefit, but simply as expressions of gratitude for the salvation one has already received.

It is not difficult to see why Shinran's teachings were perceived as a threat to the established schools of Buddhism as well as a potential source of social and political disorder by the civil authorities. At the same time, the more extreme interpretations of his thought by some of Shinran's more radical followers did much to bring about the persecutions which he and his followers suffered off and on throughout his career after the death of Hōnen.²⁴⁾ Shinran's letters indicate that the persecutions were primarily based upon two charges: his teachings, especially his doctrine of faith, were antinomian, and his

mental attitudes which are created within the devotee by Amida's other-power. The are in no sense dependent upon the human will to believe. See *Kyōgyō-shinshō*, SSZ, II, pp. 59-60, 68-69, 103, 140, and 145.

22) At this point, Shinran greatly differed from previous Pure Land tradition as a result of his notion of faith, which cannot be found anywhere in the tradition prior to his time. The traditional meaning of *ōjō* was understood as simply rebirth into the Pure Land in a perfected mental and moral state. Once reborn into the Pure Land, the devotee is then able to successfully practice the necessary meditational disciplines leading to final enlightenment (*nirvāṇa*). In other words, rebirth into the Pure Land was understood primarily as a preparatory stage to final enlightenment. Shinran's identification of rebirth into the Pure Land with the attainment of enlightenment is an addition to the tradition.

23) *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 202-203.

24) On the problem of heresy within early Jōdo Shinshū thought, see Kasahara Kazuo, *Shinshū no okeru itan no keifu* (Tōkyō: 1964).

teachings defamed the Shintō deities (*kami*) and led to disrespect for the teachings and practices of non-Pure Land Buddhist schools. Both of these points, initially raised by the religious establishment, were regarded as sources of potential disruption of the peace and order of the state, which had just emerged from a long and protracted civil war. Shinran tried to disassociate himself from these implications, as well as from those followers who preached extreme interpretations of his teachings.²⁵⁾

The antimonian "heresy" was based upon Shinran's teaching that evil men, as well as good men, are granted salvation in spite of their evil nature.²⁶⁾ Some of his followers interpreted this to mean that since no human action has any positive or negative effect upon man's relationship to Amida Buddha, there are no ethical norms as such. Therefore, a man is free to do as he wishes, good or bad, without restraint.

Shinran did, in fact, teach that the central concern of Amida's compassion was evil men, since in the age of *mappō*, there are no "good" men. At the same time, he denied that he was the source of this erroneous interpretation of his views. Paraphrasing his own words in this regard, he believed that it was foolish to take poison simply because there was an antidote.²⁷⁾ In the face of the pressure this heresy exerted upon his followers, he urged them not to associate with such evil persons²⁸⁾ and to be careful not to teach persons not well-versed in the sūtras. That is, caution must be observed in teaching unprepared minds, for the moral attitude of the true man of faith, an extremely rare being in the age of *mappō*, is totally opposite to that of the antimonian.²⁹⁾ At the same time, the mere presence of antimonianism is evidence in and of itself of the decline of Buddhism in this degenerate age.

25) *Mattōshō* (Light in the Latter Days), SSZ, II, p. 682.

26) The *Tannishō* records Shinran as having said: "If a good man is reborn into the Pure Land, how much more so an evil man. But people of the world usually say, 'If an evil man is reborn into the Pure Land, how much more so a good man.' At first, this idea sounds quite reasonable, but it is opposite to Amida's Original Vow. However, if a man turns his mind from self-power and trusts in other-power, his rebirth into the Land of Recompense is assured." *Ibid.*, p. 775.

27) *Mattōshō*, *Ibid.*, pp. 690-691.

28) *Ibid.*, p. 692.

29) *Ibid.*, p. 683.

It is a sign that one truly dispises the world when a man, who believes both in the Vow and loves to say *nembutsu*, desires together with this not to do the evil which his mind desires.³⁰⁾

In spite of Shinran's rejection of all antinomian interpretations of his teachings, it is clear that his doctrinal position did lend itself quite easily to misunderstanding. As we shall presently observe, his approach to ethical questions was not especially related in any systematic way to his doctrinal position. Rather, his approach to ethical, social, and political questions was one of compromise with established and accepted authority. Even so, he never intended to imply that he approved of an ethical life of self-indulgence. He constantly reminded his followers of their obligation (*on*) to repay Amida Buddha for the unearned gift of salvation through concrete acts of compassion towards all sentient beings (*hōon*). Part of this obligation was to maintain the conventional morality and to be obedient subjects of the state.³¹⁾

The use of Shinran's doctrine of faith as a justification for defaming the Shintō deities and for rejecting non-Pure Land Buddhist teachings and practices forced him to deal with the relation of the believer to the established religious and civil authorities. It must be immediately pointed out in this regard that Shinran did not develop a coherent and systematic social ethic or a doctrine of the state. As Alfred Bloom has noted:

Shinran was very cautious when he wrote his letters about the persecutions he and his followers suffered. He avoided the strong language of criticism that can be found in the *Kyōgyōshinshō* against the legalistic Buddhism of his day. Rather he counseled caution and care on all sides, because he was well aware of the fictions and erroneous views held by some of his followers. He strongly advised them to avoid defaming the gods and the Buddhas and thus deprive the authorities of any excuse to restrain the teaching.³²⁾

Shinran's earliest attempt to deal with the problem of persecution and the devotee's proper attitude towards the state and non-Pure Land religious teachings is a letter dated the ninth month of the second day of 1255 in which he tried to show that those who are aware that they have been granted salvation by Amida Buddha have no

30) *Ibid.*, p. 691.

31) *Ibid.*, p. 660.

32) Bloom, "The Life of Shinran Shōnin: The Journey to Self-Acceptance," p. 57.

reason to criticise the teachings and practices of non-believers.³³⁾ The theme of this letter, which runs throughout all of Shinran's writings dealing with this subject, is that salvation has been granted to the devotee by means of the efforts and activities of all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, past and present, under the guidance of Amida's other-power. For this reason, in accordance with traditional Japanese folk religion and Ryōbu Shintō (Dual Aspect Shintō) the *kami* of Shintō tradition are also protectors of Buddhist faith and Buddhist devotees. Thus, since all the *kami* and all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas must be respected by the man of faith as vehicles of Amida's other-power, the devotee's attitude towards them must not lead to any form of anti-social behavior.

Furthermore, Shinran linked the devotee's obligation (*on*) to respect and honor the Shintō deities and all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas with the devotee's obligation to be an obedient subject of the state even in times of persecution.³⁴⁾ The devotee must even have sympathy for those who persecute him and recite *nembutsu* on their behalf as a means of bringing them to salvation. In other words, Shinran again advised caution, as well as a positive attitude of pity and sympathy towards the civil authorities on the grounds that persecution as such is a natural consequence of existence in the age of *mapphō*. It is also a sign that one is indeed in possession of the true faith and teaching, for in this evil age when Buddhism itself will ultimately disappear, evil is the essential characteristic of all beings, including devotees of Amida Buddha. In such an age, the truth is difficult to recognize, and when it is, persecution will away follow. In describing this state of affairs, Shinran quoted a passage from the Chinese Pure Land master Shan-tao:

When the five defilements flourish,
There is much doubt and anger.
The clergy and the laity dispute with each other,
And they do not heed.
When they see those who practice (the disciplines),
The poison of anger arises.
With means of destruction vying.
They give birth to hatred.³⁵⁾

33) *SSZ*, II, pp. 698-700.

34) *Ibid.*, pp. 658-661, 696-698, 703-705.

35) *Ibid.*, p. 701. The "five defilements" (*gojoku*) refer to the normal conditions of all sentient beings living in the age of *mapphō*: (1) the impurity of

Because he had given his own experiences of persecution when he was Hōnen's disciple an ideological foundation in the theory of *maḥḥō*, Shinran was not at all surprised about the presence of persecution within his fellowship. At the same time, he was aware that some of his more radical followers had brought this trouble upon themselves. For this reason he could write that it was shameful that there were reports of misdeeds on their part, for the devotee should be aware that the presence of Amida's compassion places an obligation upon him to keep himself above moral and legal reproach. However, Shinran also believed that any individual could err, and consequently only that person and not the whole community should be held responsible.³⁶⁾

In spite of the fact that Shinran was no social and political reformer, he was well aware of the social and political evils of his day. He was, in fact, quick to point these out in fairly severe and pointed language. It must also be noted that his teachings themselves are free from the conventional class distinctions of his day and that his followers represented various social groupings. Thus even though he was not a social and political reformer, neither did he believe that Buddhism should be used to give ideological justification for the state's political actions, nor did he believe that Buddhism should be used as a "civil religion" to give the state social cohesiveness.³⁷⁾ Shinran was in no sense a nationalist.

Rennyo's ethical teachings

Rennyo made no important contributions to the doctrinal system which he inherited from Shinran, and which he sought to preserve without change. As we have stated, Rennyo's importance lies in the fact that he was the first Pure Land teacher to systematically apply Shinran's thought to ethical, social, and political issues. The first thing to notice in this regard is that he took up Shinran's rejection of all forms of self-powered contrivances, including numerous repetition of *nembutsu*, as having anything to do with improving man's

living in the present age: (2) the impurity of false teachings; (3) the impurity of evil passions; (4) the impurity of mind and body; and (5) the shortening of the human life span. Also see *Kyōgyōshinshō*, *Ibid.*, p. 168.

36) *Ibid.*, pp. 700-701.

37) *Ibid.*, p. 710.

moral or spiritual condition.³⁸⁾ At the same time, Shinran's conviction that gratitude is the necessary and direct expression of faith in concrete human action became the foundation of Rennyo's Pure Land thought. In his own words:

Persons who have acquired true faith, always calling upon the Name whether walking, standing, sitting, or lying down, should always (do so) as an expression of gratitude for the Great Compassionate Vow.³⁹⁾

Even though it is well known that gratitude for what one has received (*hōon*) and the obligation (*on*) to repay those from whom one has received favor is the foundation of traditional Japanese social values and attitudes,⁴⁰⁾ the significant point concerning Rennyo's teachings is that gratitude became the central focal point of the religious and moral life of the true believer. Rennyo rejected all forms of ethical and social utilitarianism, magic, and other forms of ego-centered attempts to obtain personal benefit. For him, the active expression of gratitude for what one has received from Amida Buddha must penetrate all dimensions of the devotee's life.⁴¹⁾ Thus the starting point of his Pure Land teachings is the devotee's obligation (*on*) to actively express gratitude (*hōon*) to Amida by living a life of compassionate service towards all sentient beings because Amida has compassionately accepted the devotee in spite of his moral and spiritual condition.

The conceptual framework in which Rennyo formulated this theme into a Pure Land ethic is the notion of *shintai-zokutai*, sometimes

38) See *Shōshinge Taii*, SSZ, III, pp. 388, 389, 390. Also note the following saying preserved in the *Rennyo Shōnin Goichidaiki Kikigaki*: "In the *nembutsu* of self-power, we say *nembutsu* as many times as we can and present it to the Buddha, thinking that he saves us by the merit of this saying of *nembutsu*. In the case of other-power, we attain salvation the moment single hearted trust in Amida takes root in us. Any *nembutsu* said after this can only be an expression of 'How thankful, how thankful' which we feel for having been saved by him... So 'other-power' means 'other's power.'" *Ibid.*, p. 531. Also see p. 574.

39) *Shōshinge Taii*, *Ibid.*, p. 393.

40) Cf. Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (New York: Meridian Books, 1969), pp. 98-176.

41) "When faith is established, one should refrain from evil deeds. One must not do evil deeds under the pretext that other people said thus. This time, at last, one can cut the bonds of birth and death and be reborn into the Land of Bliss. How then can one do evil?" *Rennyo Shōnin Goichidaiki Kikigaki*, *Ibid.*, p. 400.

abbreviated as *shinzoku-nitai*. These two terms cannot be adequately translated into English, but they have to do with one of the fundamental notions of Māhāyana Buddhist epistemology and metaphysics, namely the two-level theory of truth.⁴²⁾ Since it is pre-supposed in general Buddhist tradition, because of the theory of *pratīya samutpāda* (dependent co-origination), that there are no distinctively different objects of knowledge, the differences between “absolute truth” (*shintai*)⁴³⁾ and “mundane truth” (*zokutai*)⁴⁴⁾ does not refer to different objects of knowledge, but to the *way* in which things are perceived and experienced. Therefore mundane truth is based on the intellectual and emotional attachment to ideas or to sense objects in such a way that these “objects” appear to have an existence independent of the observer and all other objects. As a result, in this level of truth one discriminates, identifies, categorizes, and evaluates these segments of reality as, for example, “door,” “room,” “house,” “pleasure,” “pain,” “good,” “evil,” or an infinite number of other mental and sensual objects of cognition. It is according to this level of truth that most men live so as to carry on the everyday affairs of life, and as such it is “pragmatic” truth because it “works.” All religious and philosophical propositions about the nature of reality also fall into this category because they too are the mind’s fabrications based upon life experienced on the mundane level of truth.

Shintai, or “absolute truth,” does not refer to a realm of truth opposed to mundane truth. *Shintai* refers to a quality of life expressed by total indifference to the coming into being and going out of being of “things” (*dharma*s). That is, absolute truth is the experiential realization of the truth of dependent co-origination in which there is no attachment to the fabricated “things” perceived on the level of mundane truth. This ability to view mundane truth from the perspective of absolute truth is part of what is involved in the experience of enlightenment.⁴⁵⁾ Stated in a slightly different way, *shintai* stands

42) This notion was given its classical expression in India by the Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna (C. 2nd-3rd cent. A.D.). See Frederic J. Streng, *Emptiness: A Study in Religious Meaning* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1967), pp. 39-40, 144-146.

43) Sanskrit, *paramartha-satya*. See Ui Hakuji (ed.), *Bukkyō Jiten* (Tōkyō: Daitō Shuppansha, 1965), p. 600.

44) Sanskrit, *samvṛiti-satya*. See Ui, *op. cit.*, p. 674.

45) Cf. Junjiro Takakusu, *The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy* (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1947), pp. 96-107.

for the absolute oneness of all “things” in their “suchness,” whereas *zokutai* is the relative and temporary manifestation of the “suchness” of absolute within the realm of saṃsāric existence.

The two-level theory of truth has had too rich and complex a history in Buddhist thought to allow for a fuller analysis of it here. Suffice it to say that it is the heart of Māhāyana metaphysical and epistemological tradition in all of the specific forms it has assumed. What is unique about Rennyo’s use of this theory of truth is that he gave it an entirely ethical interpretation. The *Ryōgemon*, which we shall here translate in full, is his most authoritative statement in this regard:

Rejecting all varieties of self-powered practices and works, I whole heartedly trust Amida Tathāgata to cause my salvation in the life to come, which is the most important of all things. I believe the instant that I have faith, my rebirth into the Pure Land is assured, and that at the moment when my mind has been centered upon him, I only have to repeat *nembutsu* as an expression of gratitude. To be able to hear and believe this teaching is solely due to the gracious coming into the world of the founder [Shinran Shōnin] and the teachings of the wise men who preceded him, and this great debt of gratitude is impressed upon my mind. Because this is so, I shall always observe the prescriptions laid down by all of them.⁴⁶⁾

The point here is that even though the man to whom Amida has granted faith is quite literally free from all worldly concerns and restraints, because his destiny has been fixed by Amida’s compassionate otherpower (*shintai*), he is at the same time a being living in the age of *mappō* who is subject to all of its conditions and limitations until his rebirth into the Pure Land after death. Consequently, the man of faith is bound to obey the conventional morality and the laws of the state since these are “mundane realities” (*zokutai*) inherent within saṃsāric existence. It was this notion that was the foundation of Rennyo’s teaching that faith must always be manifested in the phenomenal world through concrete acts of moral conduct. Or to phrase this in a more Biblical way, Rennyo used the two level theory of truth to teach that “faith without works is dead.”

A specific example of his application of this theory of truth to ethical questions was Rennyo’s teaching concerning the correct attitude which the Pure Land devotee must maintain towards the Shintō deities and the teachings and practices of other schools of Buddhism.

46) SSZ, III, p. 529.

He insisted that the Shintō deities are in reality partial manifestations within the realm of saṃsāric existence of various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. That is, they are limited manifestations (*zokutai*) of absolute reality (*shintai*).⁴⁷⁾ Likewise, the many Buddhas and Bodhisattvas venerated by non-Pure Land schools are also secondary and partial manifestations (*zokutai*) of the absolute suchness of reality (*shintai*), understood within the context of Rennyo's thought as Amida's other-power.⁴⁸⁾ Therefore the Pure Land devotee need not and should not directly participate in the practices and disciplines of other religions since this only puts him into contact with the realm of mundane truth.⁴⁹⁾ On the other hand, veneration of Amida Buddha through the practice of *nembutsu* is at the same time veneration of the Shintō deities and all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas since they are manifestations of the absolute reality of Amida's other-power working within the realm of saṃsāric existence.

In his *Kyōgyōshinshō*, Shinran had taught that one of the three "minds" or aspects of faith was to accord reverence and devotion to Amida only and not to any other deity, Buddha, or Bodhisattva.⁵⁰⁾ At the same time, the devotee should not slander the religious faith of non-believers because: (1) the creation of faith is due solely to the compassionate other-power of Amida and not to any kind of self-powered agency; (2) criticism of the Shintō cultus and the teachings and practices of other schools of Buddhism only results in unnecessary conflict with the religious and civil authorities; (3) the devotee should therefore maintain a passive attitude towards all non-Pure Land religious teachings; (4) if this should lead to persecution, this too must be passively endured, since persecution as such is a sign that the devotee has been possessed by true faith.⁵¹⁾

The fundamental difference between Rennyo and Shinran in this regard is that the passive element is missing in Rennyo's teaching. There are essentially four elements in his teaching concerning this matter: (1) because the other-power of Amida is the absolute reality from which the faith of the believer derives, devotion and reverence

47) *Ofumi, Ibid.*, pp. 483-485.

48) *Ibid.*, pp. 497-498.

49) *Ibid.*

50) *SSZ*, II, pp. 59-60, 145.

51) *Mattōshō, Ibid.*, pp. 517-518, 628.

should be directly accorded only to Amida; (2) devotion to Amida is at the same time indirect reverence of the Shintō deities and all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, who are merely secondary manifestations of Amida's other-power; (3) therefore, Jōdo Shinshū is not a threat to the conventional morality or the religious ideology by which the authority of the state is justified, but is in fact a supporter of the social and political *status quo*; (4) even so, the devotee must actively oppose all attempts to place religious and secular restrictions upon the teaching which are contrary to the implications of faith, even if this means taking up arms against the religious and civil authorities.⁵²⁾ It is thus clear that there are two aspects to Rennyo's teaching regarding the devotee's relation to non-Pure Land religious teachings. The devotee has an ethical and religious obligation to conform to the demands of social life and civil responsibility which are consistent with the demands of faith. At the same time, all ethical, social, religious, and civil obligations that are inconsistent with the demands of faith must be rejected even if this means armed resistance against established authority.⁵³⁾

In spite of this principle, Rennyo did in fact try to maintain a passive attitude toward the established religious and secular authorities, although the numerous *ikkō-ikki* uprisings that occurred during his lifetime indicate that he was not very successful. We have seen that Shinran was willing to compromise with the religious and political authorities because he was solely concerned with the relation between evil men and Amida Buddha in the age of *mappō*. As a result, he only addressed himself to ethical and political issues as the occasion demanded within his own fellowship with little concern for consistency with his doctrinal position. Rennyo's attempt to maintain the same attitude of compromise is evident from the following statement attributed to him in the *Ofumi*:

Now you should in no case neglect your duties to the constables (*shugo*) of the provinces or to the stewards (*jitō*) of local communities on the grounds that you revere the Buddha's Dharma and are believers. Indeed, you should devote yourselves all the more to public affairs so that you will be pointed out as men who know what you are doing, and (thus) become models of conduct to the *nembutsu* believer who has faith and who prays

52) *Ofumi*, SSZ, III, pp. 500-501, 508, 516-518.

53) *Shōshinge Taii*, *Ibid.*, p. 397 and *Ofumi*, *Ibid.*, p. 404.

for future happiness. That is, you should be looked up to as men who keep both the Buddha's Dharma and the secular laws of the sovereign.⁵⁴⁾

This statement represented the ideal relationship between the Pure Land devotee and the established religious and political authorities for Rennyo. But in spite of the spirit of compromise evident in this statement, he still found it difficult to remain as passive as Shinran during the numerous times of conflict that occurred during his lifetime. Even though he was not a social and political reformer, and even though he supported the Confucian based social morality of his day as binding upon all Pure Land devotees, the actual political and social realities he encountered made it impossible for him to maintain an attitude of compromise. Because Pure Land doctrine and practice is the only form of Buddhism that can lead man to salvation in the age of *mappō*, it must be protected from all threats to its existence at all costs. This is the primary obligation of faith placed upon all devotees. All other obligations which the devotee has in the realm of *samsāric* existence must be placed in a secondary position.

It must be pointed out that Rennyo was not at all critical of the actual structure of the state as he knew it, nor was he opposed to the social system inherent within the existing political system. The only cause for armed resistance against the state is when it tried to hinder or suppress Pure Land teaching. In other words, no devotee may revolt against the civil authorities for reasons of political and social reform.⁵⁵⁾ Furthermore, the devotee must work to make the existing political and social system more humane because in the age of *mappō*, essentially evil men can only create essentially evil political and social systems. Seen in this light, one system is as good as another, so that destroying an existing system and substituting another one in its place is merely substituting one evil with perhaps a greater one.

The notion which links together all the elements of Rennyo's Pure Land ethical teachings is his, for want of a better word, "doctrine of vocation." Regarding this, Robert Bellah has observed:

Rennyo... made important advances with respect to the ethical regulations of everyday life. For Rennyo occupational life was like food and clothing, indispensable to the religious life, but still something alien to it.⁵⁶⁾

54) *Ibid.*, p. 441.

55) *Ibid.*, p. 502.

56) Robert Bellah, *Beyond Belief* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 117.

The fervor for rebirth into the Pure Land was the absolute reality (*shintai*) which for Rennyo took precedence over all everyday, worldly concerns (*zokutai*). At the same time, his view that the occupational life of the devotee should be integrated with his religious life is made clear by his statement, "Even when engaged in business, one should realize that one is working for the cause of Buddhism."⁵⁷) In other words, all occupations, meaning anything which a man does to earn his living in the age of *mappō*, should be viewed as a service to all sentient beings and to Amida Buddha, because one is grateful for the salvation he has received.⁵⁸) Any occupation that cannot be so viewed must be rejected. Stated in another way, anything a man does must be viewed from the perspective of repayment (*hōon*) of one's obligation (*on*) to Amida Buddha. All human actions are to be judged on this basis as either good or bad, moral or immoral. In this sense, "vocation" means that to which all men of faith are called by Amida Buddha, namely to lead a life of active and compassionate service to all sentient beings through whatever worldly role or profession in which they find themselves.⁵⁹) The following description of Rennyo is a good summary of his view of vocation and the life of faith:

Although in the midst of poverty, he always felt grateful to Amida Tathāgata, by whose other-power he believed he was living. Whenever he sat down to eat, he would say, "How happy I am to be able to take this meal while there are so many in the world starving without anything to eat." He would then express, with hands clasped, his heartfelt gratitude by reciting Amida's name... He always instructed the members of his family and his followers not to waste anything necessary for everyday life... Once he found a piece of paper thrown away in the hallway. He picked it up, and reverently raised it to his forehead and observed with a sigh, "How can they be so careless as to waste what has been given in blessing?"⁶⁰)

Conclusion

In its earliest period, Jōdo Shinshū teachers had placed great stress upon the definition of doctrine and apologetics against attacks from

57) *Rennyo Shōnin Goichidaiki Kikigaki*, SSZ, III, p. 559.

58) *Shōshinge Taii*, *Ibid.*, pp. 390-391; *Ofumi*, *Ibid.*, pp. 405, 417.

59) *Ofumi*, *Ibid.*, pp. 436-437. Also see *Rennyo Shōnin Goichidaiki Kikigaki*, *Ibid.*, p. 574.

60) *Rennyo Shōnin Goichidaiki Kikigaki*, *Ibid.*, p. 611. Also note the following statement: "To use things for worldly affairs is to waste the things of the Buddha. One should think of this as horrible. But towards the Buddhist teaching, one may put in as many things as one may wish, and there is no tiring of it. It is also a cause for thanksgiving." *Ibid.*, p. 585.

the established schools of Buddhism and the civil authorities. At the same time, little attention was paid to the ethical and social implications of Pure Land teaching and practice. Even Shinran's attempts to deal with these questions were secondary to his teaching that salvation was available to evil men living in the age of *mappō*. For this reason, Shinran's approach to ethical and social issues was quite "pragmatic" and passive. The importance of Rennyo, therefore, is that he was the first Pure Land thinker of any substance to raise the question of the ethical and social demands of faith to a level of ultimate importance. He was able to do this by interpreting the older theme of gratitude according to the doctrine of the two levels of truth. By so doing he was able to establish a theoretical framework by which ethical and social concerns could be viewed and interpreted. In this way, Rennyo was able to define the nature of the life of faith more clearly than any previous Pure Land thinker.

However, there is in Rennyo's Pure Land thought, which Masaharu Anesaki has described as a "...combination of religious faith and the feudal morality of allegiance,"⁶¹) an element of bifurcation between the religious demands of faith and the ethical demands of life in the realm of *samsāric* existence. His treatment of the relation between the Pure Land devotee to the Shintō deities and other Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, his support of the conventional Confucian moral standard of his day, and his view concerning the devotee's duties and responsibilities to the civil authorities indicate that he was anxious to maintain the existing social and political *status quo*. The man of faith is in the world, but he is not *of* the world, for the most important thing for the devotee is his future rebirth into the Pure Land. The question becomes that of how the absolute demands of faith (*shintai*), which guarantees the devotee's future with Amida Buddha, but which provides no sense of meaningfulness for his present life here and now other than he will someday be released from further suffering in the age of *mappō*, relate to the realities of life in the phenomenal world of suffering existence (*zokutai*). In Rennyo's thought, life lived according to the demands of faith always places the devotee in tension and opposition to the demands of the existing conventional morality and

61) Masaharu Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion* (Tōkyō: Charles E. Tuttle, 1963), p. 231.

political system. Once more, the tension remained unresolved in this thought because even though the devotee must work to make life in this world more humane, there is no basis in Rennyo's thought for working for the establishment of a social and political system consistent with the ethical implications of faith. Such things simply are not possible in the age of *mapphō*.

In summary, therefore, Rennyo's most important service to Jōdo Shinshū was his insistence upon the necessity of observing the moral precepts of Buddhism and the Confucian virtues of the conventional morality of his time. He more than any other previous Pure Land teacher insisted that no man can claim to have faith and trust in Amida Buddha unless this issues in concrete acts of compassion towards all sentient beings. This is the central obligation of faith which Amida Buddha places upon all devotees. At the same time, while the man of faith must conform his outer conduct to the laws of the state and the moral order, his inner life must be wholly given up in service to Amida Buddha. When social and legal obligations conflict with this inner life, social and legal obligations must be rejected and resisted.

REX NEMORENSIS

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In a grove sacred to the goddess Diana, at Aricia, twenty miles from Rome, an obscure priest and his barbaric ritual of succession have enjoyed greater renown outside the relatively narrow circle of professional classicists than have most of the more august pontiffs and flamens who conduct their sacred ceremonies along the Sacred Way and on the Capitoline. He is the Arician *rex Nemorensis*; and to most readers his name conjures echoes of the somber, eerie description near the beginning of Frazer's *Golden Bough*.¹⁾

In the sacred grove there grew a certain tree round which at any time of the day, and probably far into the night, a grim figure might be seen to prowl. In his hand he carried a drawn sword, and he kept peering warily about him, as if at every instant he expected to be set upon by an enemy. He was a priest and a murderer; and the man for whom he looked was sooner or later to murder him and the priesthood in his stead. Such was the rule of the sanctuary. A candidate for the priesthood could only succeed to office by slaying the priest, and having slain him, he retained office till he was himself slain by a stronger or a craftier.

The post which he held by this precarious tenure carried with it the title of king; but surely no crowned head ever lay uneasier, or was visited by more evil dreams, than his. For year in year out, in summer and winter, in fair weather and in foul, he had to keep his lonely watch, and whenever he snatched a troubled slumber it was at peril of his life.

Frazer's picturesque reconstruction is gleaned from the brief mention made by ancient poets, commentators, and geographers, who at the same time tell us both too little and too much. For example, the strange, stark facts of the priesthood, whatever they were, have been typically overlaid with etiological embroidery; and the ancients tell us, variously, that the grove by Lake Nemi was the refuge for principal slayers and intended victims in sundry homicidal myths: Hippolytus, after his resurrection as Virbius; ²⁾ Thoas, the father of Hypsi-

1) James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough* I (London, 1920) 8 f.

2) Virgil *Aen.* 7.765-82, Pausanias 2.27.4, Ovid *F* 265 f., Statius *Sil* 3.1.57.

pile, after his escape from the Lemnian massacre and migration from the Taurians; 3) and Orestes, in a variant version of Thoas' fortunes, after he had killed the Taurian Thoas. 4)

The fullest accounts of the priesthood, in their chronological order, are given by Strabo (64/63 B.C.-21 A.D.), Pausanias (fl. 150 A.D.), and Servius (4th century).

Strabo 5.3.12 (C 239) :

καθίσταται γὰρ ἱερεὺς ὁ γεννηθεὶς αὐτόχειρ τοῦ ἱερωμένου πρότερον δραπετῆς ἀνὴρ· ξιφῆρης οὖν ἐστὶν αἰεὶ, περισκοπῶν τὰς ἐπιθέσεις, ἔτοιμος ἀμύνεσθαι.

A priest is appointed, who has been the murder of the previous priest and is a runaway slave. Therefore, he is always girt with a sword, keeping an eye open for attacks, ready to defend himself.

Pausanias 2.27.4:

λέγουσιν Ἀρικιεῖς, ὡς τεθνεῶτα Ἰππόλυτον ἐκ τῶν Θησέως ἀρῶν ἀνέστησεν Ἀσκληπιός· ὁ δὲ ὡς αὖθις ἐβίω, οὐκ ἤξιον νέμειν τῷ πατρὶ συγγνώμην, ἀλλὰ ὑπεριδὼν τὰς δεήσεις ἐς Ἱταλίαν ἔρχεται παρὰ τοὺς Ἀρικιεῖς, καὶ ἐβασίλευσέ τε αὐτόθι καὶ ἀνῆκε τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τέμενος, ἐνθα ἄχρι ἐμοῦ μονομαχίας ἄθλα ἦν καὶ ἱερᾶσθαι τῇ θεῷ τὸν νῶντα· ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν ἐλευθέρων μὲν προέκειτο οὐδενί· οἰκέταις δὲ ἀποδρᾶσι τοὺς δεσπότης.

The Aricians say that when Hippolytus died as a result of his father's curses, Asklepios restored him to life. But when he had been brought back to life, he did not deign to grant pardon to his father, but scorning his entreaties, came to Aricia in Italy; and he became king there and dedicated a grove to Artemis, where up until my time there were prizes for single combat, including the right of the victor to be priest of the goddess. But the contest was permitted to nobody who was free, but only to slaves who had run away from their masters.

Servius *Aen.* 6.136:

Orestes post occisum regem Thoantem in regione Taurica cum sorore Iphigenia... fugit et Dianae simulacrum inde sublatum haud longe ab Aricia collocavit. in huius templo post mutatum ritum sacrificiorum fuit arbor quaedam, de qua infringi ramum non licebat. dabatur autem fugitivis potestas, ut si quis exinde ramum potuisset auferre, monomachia cum fugitivo templi sacerdote dimicaret: nam fugitivus illic erat sacerdos ad priscae imaginem fugae. dimicandi autem dabatur facultas quasi ad pristini sacrificii reparationem...

Orestes, after the murder of King Thoas in the land of the Taurians, fled with his sister Iphigenia, ...and the image of Diana, which he had taken thence, he set up not far from Aricia. In her temple, after he had altered the rite of (human) sacrifices, there was a certain tree, from which it was not permitted to break a branch. However, fugitive slaves were granted the

3) Val. Fl. *Arg.* 2.301-05.

4) Serv. *Aen.* 6.136, Hyginus frg. 261.

right that if any of them could take a branch from it he would fight with the fugitive-slave priest of the temple. For a fugitive was priest there as an imitation of the original flight (of Orestes). Moreover, the right to fight was granted as recompense (to the goddess) for the ancient (human) sacrifice.

The poets tell us, *en passant*, that the priest with the perilous tenure is called a king, and that his priesthood is a *regnum*.

Ovid *Fasti* 3.271 f.:

Regna tenent fortes manibus pedibusque fugaces,
et perit exemplo postmodo quisque suo.
The strong of hand and fleet of foot hold the kingships,
and soon after, each falls in his own way.

Ovid *Ars Amatoria* 1.259 f.:

ecce, suburbanae templum nemorale Dianae
partaque per gladios regna nocente manu.
Behold, the suburban temple of Diana Nemorensis, and kingships
won by the sword with a violent hand.

Valerius Flaccus 2.305:

et soli non mitis Aricia regi.
... and Aricia, unkind only to her king.

Statius *Silvae* 3.1.55 f.:

iamque dies aderat, profugis cum regibus aptum
fumat Aricinum Triviae nemus...
And already the day was at hand when Hecate's Arician
grove, subject to fugitive kigs, is enveloped in smoke.

The king is mentioned in none of the extant Arician inscriptions, and the full title of *Nemorensis rex* is found only in Suetonius' account of Caligula's gladiatorial predilections (*Calig.* 35).

If the consensus of the ancient authorities (who may not be entirely independent of one another) is any guarantee, we know three things about the Arician priesthood. (1) There was a priest who served Diana at Nemi, and he is known to have been called *rex*, king. (2) He won his office with the sword in single combat, probably a fight to the death. (3) He had to be a runaway slave.

A fourth datum has attracted perhaps as much attention as all the other three collectively. (4) The challenger signals the combat by plucking a bough from a forbidden tree in the grove. This, however,

could be the least reliable or important of all the rare pieces of information about the priesthood. The only authority for the odd detail is Servius, whose account of the ritual is the latest; and in this case he is explaining Aeneas' preparation for entry into the Underworld at Avernus, over a hundred miles away.

Nevertheless, whether a bough was plucked or not, that one superficial step in the ceremony is far less puzzling than the questions about the very essence of the priesthood. Why does Diana have a male priest called a king? Why must he fight for the honor? Why must he be a runaway slave?

The obvious answer to the first question has occurred to several scholars independently. He is called a king, because he *is* a king: a *rex sacrorum*, or *rex sacrificulus*. That is to say, he is the possessor of the remnant of the priestly function which could be performed only by a king, even after kings ceased to rule.⁵⁾ The offhand suggestion is occasionally made that he was a mock king, or some minor functionary with an inflated title;⁶⁾ but the geographically close analogy of the *rex sacrificulus* at Rome, if nothing else, renders such an unsupported conjecture unnecessary.

If, as is likely, the *rex* is the king of the place, not of Diana's cult, his association with the goddess is no more than a coincidence; that is to say, her cult is no more than a conspicuous concern of the district's religious spokesman. Unfortunately, the path to so simple a conclusion, instead of being direct and clear, is intermittent and obscured by defects in solid evidence. Furthermore, the scholarly explorations of the past few generations have opened up more than

5) A.B. Cook, review of the *Golden Bough*, *CR* 16 (1902) 376; H. J. Rose, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch* (Oxford, 1924) 91, paraphrased by K. Latte, *RömRelGesch* (Munich, 1960) 172; A. E. Gordon, "The Cults of Aricia," *Univ. Calif. Pubs. in Cl. Arch.* 2 (1934) 8 f. Rose returns to the problem of the *rex Nemorensis* several times. In his *Primitive Culture in Italy* (London, 1926) 119 f., he doubts that he was ever killed. In his article, "Rex Nemorensis," in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, he states flatly that he was a priest of Diana. He points out the uniqueness of the institution in "Myth and Ritual in Classical Civilisation," *Mn* ser. 4, vol. 3 (1950) 281, and "The Evidence for Divine Kings in Greece," *The Sacral Kingship* ("Supplements to *Numen*," 4, Leiden, 1959) 371-78.

6) A. E. Gordon, *TAPA* 63 (1932) 186; Joseph Fontenrose, *The Ritual Theory of Myth* ("Univ. of Calif. Pubs.: Folklore Studies," 18, 1966; repr. 1971) 44, 48 f.

one detour and false trail, which it is the duty of each new investigator to follow to their true end.

A frequent goal of such aberrations has been to explain the peculiarities of the kingship by the king's involvement in the cult of Diana. Consequently, our first task is to satisfy ourselves that the *rex* is really king of the place, and not a *rex Dianius*.

One justification for the association of the king with the cult rather than the place has been drawn from the evidence for a local identification of Diana with Vesta.

DIANA-VESTA

The Roman king is the *paterfamilias* of the state; the maidens of his household, his princesses, are the Vestal Virgins; and he is concerned with the cult of his household's—that is, the state's—hearth, or Vesta. When, therefore, we read of the identification of Diana with Vesta at Aricia, the service of the masculine priest-king to a feminine divinity seems quite normal.⁷

The attractions of such reasoning are not, however, enhanced by local iconography. Aside from the isolated example of an architectural antefix fashioned in the shape of a Persian Artemis,⁸) Diana of Aricia is easily recognized as the goddess identified with the Greek Artemis.⁹) A frequent and important variation of the Hellenized Diana is a coin type, probably copied from a statuary original, of a unique kind of Diana-Hecate *triformis*, consisting of three individual goddesses standing side by side and joined at the back or at shoulder height by a bar.¹⁰) Whatever the identity of these three goddesses, none of them is Vesta. At Rome, she doesn't even possess a cult image.¹¹)

Nevertheless, Diana-Vesta has the impressive support of an Arician

7) A. B. Cook, *loc. cit.*, identifies the remains of a circular shrine near Diana's sanctuary as evidence of a local Vesta.

8) Frederik Poulsen, "Nemi Studies," *Acta Archaeologica* (Copenhagen) 12 (1941) 8-10, and fig. 2, 3.

9) Poulsen, 11 f.

10) A. Alföldi, *AJA* 64 (1960) 137-44; *id.*, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1964) 47 ff.; Carmine Ampolo, *Parolo del Passato* 25 (1970) 209 f.; P. J. Riis, "The Cult Image of Diana Nemorensis," *Acta Archaeologica* (Copenhagen) 37 (1966) 67-75.

11) Georg Wissowa, *RuK²* 171.

inscription, which begins: *Dianae / Nemore(n)si Vestae / sacrum*.¹²⁾ To this has been added the goddess' fondness for the fire of her torch-light processions;¹³⁾ and, further, there is the annual festival on the Ides of August, when fires are burnt in her honor on hearths, or *foci*,¹⁴⁾ so that there would seem to be some case for the notion that Aricia has succeeded in "reclaiming Diana from the woodland to the homestead."¹⁵⁾

Were it certain that Diana was the patroness of the sacred hearth—or, to identify Vesta more precisely, the hearth itself—the relationship between priest-king and goddess would immediately take on a new and luminous clarity. However, a more scrupulous examination of the evidence for a Diana-Vesta makes such an identification doubtful.

The most impressive testimony to the syncretism is the inscription (*CIL* 14.2213 = *ILS* 3243):

DIANAE
NEMORESI · VESTAE
SACRVM · DICT
IMP · NERVA · TRAIANO AVG ·
GERMANICO · III · COS ...
(other magistrates)
P · CORNELIVS · TROPHIMVS · PISTOR
ROMANIENSIS · EX · REG · XIII · IDEM · CVR ·
VICI · QVADRATI · ET · LANIA · C · F · THIONOE ·
CONIVX sic
EIVS · VOTVM · LIBENS · SOLVERVNT

Dianae / Nemore(n)si Vestae / sacrum, dict(atore) / imp(eratore) Nerva Traiano Aug(usto) / Germanico (tertium) co(n)s(ule) ... / ... / P(ublius) Cornelius Trophimus pistor / Romaniensis ex reg(ione quarta decima) idem cur(ator) / vici Quadrati¹⁶⁾ et Lania G(ai) f(ilia) Thionoe coniu(n)x / eius votum libens solverunt.

12) *CIL* 14.2213 = *ILS* 3243.

13) Fontenrose 45, Ovid *F* 3.269 f.:

Saepe potens voti frontem redimita corona
femina lucentes portat ab Urbe faces;

Statius *Sil.* 3.1.56 f.:

Fumat Aricinum Triviae nemus et face multa
consciis Hippolyti splendet lacus.

14) *Op. cit.* 59 f.:

omnisque pudicis

Itala terra focis *Hecateidas* excolit Idus.

15) W. Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic* (London, 1899) 201, n. 4.

16) *Vicus Quadrati* is listed under *Regio XIV*, *ILS* 6073. I am grateful to Professor Jerzy Linderski for detecting Dessau's inconsistencies in the interpretation of this portion of the Diana-Vesta inscription and pointing the way to the correct expansion of the abbreviations.

Sacred to Diana Nemorensis Vesta, in the third consulship (and Arician) dictatorship of the Emperor Trajan . . .

Publius Cornelius Trophimus, Roman baker from the fourteenth region (of Rome), also curator of the *vicus* of Quadratus and his wife, Thionoe, daughter of Gaius Lanius, paid their vow gladly.

If this votive is indeed to a Diana who is also known as Vesta, the platitude that one swallow does not make a spring would be a weak attack on its validity. It would be more to the point to observe that the dedication is rather late, about 100 A.D., and that the dedicant himself is a humble, perhaps recently affluent baker, whose Greek cognomen, like the elevated gentile name of Cornelius, implies that he is a freedman. Had he been freeborn, he would, as did his wife, likely have indicated his parentage.

Still, it is not necessary even to dismiss this as only the mistake of a parvenu imperfectly assimilated to the culture of Rome. Although the editors of the inscription index Vesta as a by-name of Diana, the matter need not end there. It could very well be a case of epigraphical asyndeton, common enough in dedications to pairs or triads of gods; ¹⁷) and the inscription makes excellent sense as a dedication to Diana Nemorensis and Vesta. The random and imperfect correspondence of the division of verses to the sense of the texts lends credibility to the idea. For example, *dict(atore)*, an Arician dignity conferred on the Emperor, is separated from the rest of his titles and lumped together with *sacrum*, the dedicatory formula. In like manner, *Vestae*, which at first sight looks like a second epithet of Diana, could be a second recipient of the offering, placed by chance on the same line as *Nemore(n)si* (ms. p. 9).

There is nothing unusual about Vesta's entry into the sanctuary of Diana. Like most pagan gods and goddesses, the goddess of Aricia offered easy hospitality to other divinities. ¹⁸)

17) E.g., ILS 3024: *Iovi depulso/ri, Genio loci*; 3083: *Iovei Iunonei Minervai / Falesce*; 3084: *Iovi o.m., / Umoni reg(inae), / Minervae*; 3090, 3093-95; 3464: *Herculi, Libero, Silvano, / diis sanctis*; 3636: *Fortunae / reduci, Lari / viali, Romae / aeternae*; 3731: *Numinibus / Aug., / Tutelae opti/mae*; 3764: *dis deab. / fatalibus / conserv(atoribus)*; 3871: *Lymfis, Virib.*; 3877: *Apollini, Silvano, Asclepio, Nymphis*; 3891: *Herculi, Genio / loci, Fontibus / calidis*; 3960: *Terrae Matr[i], / Aere curae, Ma/tri deum mag/nae Ideae*.

18) Lucia Mörpurgo, "Nemi: teatro ed altri edifici romani in contrada 'La Valle,'" *NS* ser. 6, vol. 7 (1931) 237-305, finds Isiac objects in the sanctuary of Diana (p. 303), from which she infers that Isis and Diana were assimilated. F. Poulsen, p. 6, conjectures that two Egyptian temples were in Diana's precinct. Horace, *C.* 4.1.19 f., places a shrine to Venus in the general vicinity.

The other evidence assumed for a Diana-Vesta is more easily dismissed. The women's torchlight procession during Diana's festival is important not for its fire but its light, as when torches are used for weddings, funerals, or Eleusinian and Mithraic rites. When Statius describes the light of the torches reflected on the lake's surface, *face multa . . . splendet lacus* (*Silvae* 3.1.56 f.), we think of Lake Nemi's nickname: *speculum Dianae*, Diana's mirror. While it may be no more than an attractive fancy to suppose that the shining of torches may be a kind of sympathetic magic to encourage the goddess of the moon to shine on this same mirrored surface,¹⁹⁾ Artemis' epithet in later Greek texts, *daduchos*, "torch-bearer," is certainly suggestive. In any event, none of this has anything to do with Vesta, who is not a goddess of light or fire, but is the hearth itself.

Other rites described by Statius for the festival on the Ides of August could give us more pause; for these take place at hearths (*Silvae* 3.1.59 f):

omnisque pudicis
Italia terra foci Hecateidas excolit Idus.
And the whole land of Italy celebrates Hecate's Ides at
pious hearths.

The holiday is not confined to Aricia, but is common to *omnis Italia terra*. The mention of *foci* is insufficient to make a hearth-goddess of Diana; *focus* is not only the hearth of the household, but it is also a fairly easy synecdoche for the altar on which offerings were burnt. The pious *foci* of Statius suggest, not an impingement on the domain of Vesta, but, rather, something like the rich altar of Diana in Virgil's description of the Arician precinct (*Aen.* 7.764):

pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Dianae.

DIANA OF THE ARENA

In historical times the single combat for the kingship was almost certainly a gladiatorial show. The language of the descriptions suggests as much: *monomachia* for the fight, *athla* for the prizes. The context of Suetonius' account of Caligula's interference in the succession of the *rex Nemorensis* implies that it is a theatrical event. The anecdote

¹⁹⁾ Robert Schilling, "Une victime des vicissitudes politiques: la Diane latine," *Hommages à Jean Bayet* ("Collection Latomus," 70, Brussels, 1964) 653.

is preceded by one of Caligula's humiliation of an invincible gladiator; and it is followed by a description of the Emperor's envy of a victorious charioteer (*Calig.* 35).

Since Diana is traditionally patroness of the hunt and gladiatorial arena, the archer-goddess' interest in bloodshed seems to be compatible with, and even an explanation for, this kind of competition at Nemi. Ovid says as much (*Ars Amatoria* 1.259-62):

ecce, suburbanae templum nemorale Dianae
partaque per gladios regna nocente manu;
illa quod est virgo, quod tela Cupidinis odit,
multa dedit populo vulnera, multa dabit.
Behold, the suburban temple of Diana Nemorensis and king-
ships won by the sword with a violent hand. Because she
is a virgin, because she hates the weapons of Cupid, she
has dealt and will deal many wounds to the people.

Pliny the Elder (*NH* 34.52) mentions that C. Terentius Lucanus had donated a painting to the grove of Diana, apparently depicting the three-day gladiatorial show which he had staged in memory of his grandfather. This also would seem to be a recognition of Diana's fondness for staged combat.²⁰⁾

Such relationships, however attractive they may be, are not imperative. Ovid's Alexandrian ingenuity shows through here. Mentioning Aricia in an abbreviated travelogue, he makes an artificially tidy package of Diana's fondness for games, her militant virginity, and the violence entailed in winning the kingship. This is in Ovid's usual manner, and there is no necessary kinship among the three points.

As for the gladiatorial painting, it is only one object deposited in a notoriously rich treasury. The ancient reputation of Aricia anticipated the rich yield of modern excavations and their varied abundance of other offerings, most of which have nothing to do with games.²¹⁾ To explain the battle for the kingship by its association with a theatrical Diana, furthermore, would be to reverse the real order of events. There seems to have been a real battle for succession, even before it had degenerated to a staged gladiatorial show.

One strange reconstruction of events at the grove of Diana deserves no more than a passing glance. That is, that eligibility for the battle

20) Fontenrose, p. 48.

21) Morpurgo, pp. 259-82; *CIL* 14.2215, Appian *BC* 5.24.97.

was won in a foot race.²²) The evidence for this is what the lexicographer Festus solemnly tells us (460 L): that runaway slaves are called "deer," *cervi*, which are sacred to Diana; and there is also the quotation from Ovid, to the effect that the kingship is held by strength of arm and fleetness of foot (*Fasti* 3.271):

regna tenent fortes manibus pedibusque fugaces.

Common sense is all that is required to dispel the fancy that Ovid is alluding to a race of such *cervi*. In a gladiatorial fight, a swift foot is as important as a heavy hand.

GODDESS OF SLAVES

In the passage where he mentions that runaways are nicknamed *cervi*, Festus also provides the firmest foundation for the supposition that Diana is patroness of slaves and, hence, of her own slave-king (460 L):

Servorum dies festus vulgo existimatur Idus Aug., quod eo die Ser. Tullius, natus servus, aedem Dianae dedicaverit in Aventino, cuius tutelae sint cervi; a quo celeritate fugitivos vocent cervos.

The Ides of August are commonly considered a festival of slaves, because on that day Servius Tullius, born a slave, dedicated on the Aventine a temple of Diana, under whose protection are the deer; so that, because of their speed, they call fugitive slaves deer.

An imaginative and intelligent article by Robert Schilling capitalizes on the tradition of Diana's affinity for slaves.²³) He notices that, unlike the Veian Juno, Diana of Aricia was not officially transplanted to Rome by the rite of *evocatio*,²⁴) but remained a foreigner and consequently was installed in a temple outside the pomerium, on the Aventine. Inasmuch as she was goddess of a conquered people, it was fitting that her priests be prisoners of war or, in their stead, slaves.

At the outset, the attractions of Schilling's thesis are diminished by the persisting uncertainty of the provenience of the Aventine Diana. While the theory of her Arician origin seems to be the most popular, the ancients themselves are at variance with each other about it, and it has been the object of some recent, painstaking challenges.²⁵)

22) Fontenrose, p. 41.

23) "Une victime," 650-67.

24) *Evocatio* of Juno, Livy 5.21.

25) For the Arician origin: A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins*, 85 ff.;

More immediately to the point, one might ask if such surrogate captives were really necessary to the cult. After all, divination according to the *disciplina Etrusca* was performed by haruspices who were real Etruscans. In order to maintain the cult of an Arician Diana, it need have been no problem to find real Aricians, or representatives of one of the other members of the defunct Latin League.

We ought not to make too much of Festus' etiological pun of *Servius*, *servus*, *cervus*. Quite apart from an imagined association with Diana, *cervus* seems to have been a slang word for runaways.²⁶⁾

Plutarch (*QR* 100) accounts for the slaves' holiday on the Ides of August as Servius' birthday but does not mention Diana. Being an imported goddess, Diana is absent from the oldest Roman calendars, although the foundation of her Aventine temple on the Ides of August is marked on the more recent.²⁷⁾ Therefore, with no more than Festus' questionable etiology to serve as a guide, there is no sure way of explaining a relationship between the Aventine or Arician Diana and slaves. Their association with each other looks very much like the natural result of the coincidence that the slaves' holiday and the *natalis* of the Aventine goddess fell on the same day. It would be the same kind of amalgamation of two holidays which came about, for example, when a temple of Minerva was dedicated on the Quinquatrus, a festival of Mars; and Mars and Minerva were artificially joined in the celebration and mythology of the holiday.²⁸⁾

REX SACRORUM

Every attempt to explain the king's rite of succession or his servile status by anything in the cult of Diana has at least one flaw, sometimes several. A more profitable approach would be to view the *rex Nemorensis* as a *rex sacrorum* of the place, and not subservient to the single cult of Diana.

summary of arguments against: Françoise-Hélène Pairault, "Diana Nemorensis, déesse latine, déesse hellénisée," *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 81 (1969) 425-71; conflicting ancient testimony: Livy 1.45.2, Varro *LL* 5.74.

26) Martial 3.91.12, with note by Ludwig Friedlaender (Leipzig, 1886).

27) Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, 198 f. As F.-H. Pairault, "Diana Nemorensis," 427 f., points out, too much can be made of the omission; the foundation date of the Capitoline temple is not on the ancient calendars, either.

28) Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, 57-62.

The paradigm for a *rex sacrorum* is set forth by Livy, who describes his creation after the expulsion of the Tarquins (2.2.1):

Rerum deinde divinarum habita cura; et quia quaedam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, necubi regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum (Rose: sacrificolum) creant. Id sacerdotium pontifici subiecere, ne additus nomini honos aliquid libertati, cuius tunc prima erat cura, officeret. Then attention was paid to religion. And because certain of the public ceremonies had been performed by the kings themselves, and in order that they might not feel lack of a king in any situation, they created the *rex sacrificulus*. They subordinated that priesthood to the pontifex (maximus), in order that the dignity added to the title might not in any way diminish their freedom, for which they then had the greatest concern.

The excerpt from Livy disarms one argument based on terminology. Just as the *rex Nemorensis* is in the fuller accounts called a *sacerdos* or *hiereus*, so also Livy calls the office of the Roman king a *sacerdotium*. In other words, the causal habit of calling the office a priesthood does nothing to detract from its origin as a genuine kingship.

At Rome, procedures for choosing the *rex sacrorum* are just as orderly as those for electing the original Roman kings, whose power was an *imperium legitimum*.²⁹⁾ Aricia, on the other hand, gives us a glimpse of a wilder and more primitive tradition. The king is a relic of a time when public safety demanded that a leader be not only the wisest citizen but physically the fittest. When the practical reasons for the test of fitness by combat had been forgot, the fight itself was piously retained, with the conservatism which naturally inheres to public institutions, and came to be thought of as a religious necessity rather than a political expedient.³⁰⁾

So much is no more than natural inference. It may help to waft away the mists of religious enigma which have been thickened by ancient conjectures about mythological refugees and human sacrifice, and modern theories of divine kings and scapegoats.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE

There are notable examples of slaves who are elevated to a mock royalty, with death awaiting at the end of their brief tenure.³¹⁾ The slave-king at Nemi is quite different from these, both for the solem-

29) Sallust *Cat.* 6; Cic. *Rep.* 2.31; Livy 1.17.

30) Cook, review of *Golden Bough*, 377.

nity of his role, which no ancient authority gainsays, and for the opportunity to renew his term. Instead of being led like a victim to the altar, he carries a sword. There must, then, be some other reason for the exclusion of freeborn candidates.

The most plausible, matter-of-fact reason proposed thus far has been simply that the office had become degraded with the passage of time. An easy way to account for its spontaneous degeneration would be to assume that more dignified aspirants would have been discouraged by the perils of the priesthood, and that in due course the only claimants would be ne'er-do-wells and ruffians.³²⁾

Such explanations may contain a vague approximation of what happened, but it would seem that a more compelling motivation would be required to restrict an office which was still, after all, genuinely royal and sacerdotal, to such a bizarre group of candidates.

The ancients agree that the king is a fugitive slave, not a pauper nor criminal nor anything else. The language is not ambiguous: *pro-fugi reges* in Statius, *fugitivus* in Servius, *drapetes* in Strabo, and *apodrantés tous despótas* in Pausanias. They do not imply that the office devolved on fugitives by default; that is, because citizens were afraid or disinterested. On the contrary, Pausanias states, not that the privilege of combat was avoided by freemen, but that it simply was not granted to them. In other words, the insistence on fugitives looks not like the makeshift filling of a void, but a deliberate ordinance.

The reason is not hard to guess. The Romans, who prided themselves on the decorum of their ceremonies,³³⁾ could consider this mode of a suburban priestly succession embarrassing and distasteful, especially if the violence could be misconstrued (as it was by Servius) to be a kind of human sacrifice. In such a case, it takes only a casual glance at the religious history of Rome to predict how they would relieve themselves of such an embarrassment. It is rife with examples of their accommodation of religions or cults which merited observance, but certain of whose objectionable practices had to be thwarted or, at least, altered. Venus Erycina came to Rome, leaving her temple

31) Athenaeus 14.639 c, d; Stefan Weinstock, "Saturnalien und Neujahrsfest in den Martyracten," *Mullus: Festschr. Theodor Klauser* ("Jahrb. f. Antike u. Christentum," *Ergänzungsband* 1, 1964) 391-400.

32) Cook, *op. cit.* 378.

33) Dionysius of Halicarnassus *AntRom* 2.19.

prostitutes behind.³⁴⁾ After the scandals of 186 B.C., the Bacchic cult was still tolerated, but there were strict prohibitions of what might be called unlawful assembly, to prevent a recurrence of the clandestine excesses which had necessitated the *senatusconsultum de Bacchanalibus*.³⁵⁾ The cult of Cybele was strictly controlled, with legal discouragement of the obviously unsalubrious practice of self-castration; and citizens were barred from her priesthoods until after a substitution for human castration was devised.³⁶⁾

In view of a solidly established precedent of the realistic disposal of repugnant cult practices, without, however, banning the cult itself, it is easy to understand the compromise which was worked out to ensure the proper continuity of the kingship at Nemi. The presumable ritual murder was changed to a properly governed gladiatorial contest, whose participants would be drawn from a more expendable element of society: fugitive slaves, or professional swordsmen—perhaps Caligula's favorite was such a one—so designated for the occasion.

However, two immediate objections come to mind at the idea of the pat legal fiction of a made-to-order fugitive-slave king. (1) The office of the Roman *rex sacrorum* in particular was reserved for candidates who could display an impeccably patrician pedigree; and (2) slaves were in general excluded from participation in important religious rites. Such objections are solid, but not insurmountable.

(1) It is true that the strictures for the election of the *rex sacrorum* are just as narrow as for the tabu-ridden *flamen Dialis*. He must be the son of parents joined by the well-nigh indissoluble bond of *confarreatio*, and he himself must be married to his *regina* by the same archaic ceremony.³⁷⁾ A former slave's uncertain antecedents would render him manifestly unfit.

34) Robert Schilling, *La religion romaine de Vénus depuis les origines jusqu'au temps d'Auguste* ("Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome," 178, 1954) 249.

35) Livy 39.8-18, *CIL* 1.196 = *ILS* 18.

36) Arthur Darby Nock, *Conversion* (Oxford, 1933; repr. 1961) 68 f.; George La Piana, "Foreign Groups in Rome during the First Centuries of the Empire," *HTR* 10 (1927) 289-302.

37) Gaius *Inst.* 1.112; Wissowa *RuK*² 421 f.; Cic. *De Domo* 38; Martha Hoffmann Lewis, *The Official Priests of Rome under the Julio-Claudians* ("Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome," 16, 1955) 74.

Even so, outside of Rome itself and elsewhere in Latium, servile ancestry is not necessarily an obstacle to the sacerdotal kingship; for the Roman priesthood need not have been the model for others in Italy, nor need it have been the first institution of its kind on the Italian peninsula.³⁸⁾ It was certainly not the first in the classical world, for the Greeks had earlier known kings who had been relieved of all but their priestly powers.³⁹⁾

Whether or not their offices antedate the Roman priesthood, other Italian *reges sacrorum* at least show the possibility of independent development when they deviate from the norm prescribed for the Roman *rex*. For although the king at Rome was expressly excluded from every other military and civil function,⁴⁰⁾ one need not go far afield—or even outside Rome itself—to find kings whose kingship is only one of several honors in their varied *cursus honorum*.⁴¹⁾ Two extraurban kings not only have official careers of an unkingly multiplicity, but they display a tribal affiliation, *Pal(atina tribu)*, which betrays the possibility that they are of freedman stock,⁴²⁾ and certainly not patricians of the sort demanded by the Roman priesthood.

(2) However far the municipal *reges* may be permitted to wander from the genealogical standards of a Roman *rex sacrorum*, a *fugitivus* is, nonetheless, still a slave, and as a consequence, notoriously unfit to perform sacrifice and to join the more dignified religious processions. The exclusion of slaves and *vincti*, people subject to any kind of confinement or physical restraint, is a commonplace of Latin literature, beginning with the *De Agricultura* of Cato.⁴³⁾ Just as

38) Arnaldo Momigliano, "Il *rex sacrorum* e l'origine della repubblica," *Quarto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* ("Storia e letteratura: raccolta di studi e testi," 115, Rome, 1969) 395-402.

39) Hdt. 4.161; Aristotle *Politics* 3.1285 b; Strabo 14.1.3, p. 633.

40) Dion. Hal. *AntRom* 4.74.4.

41) *CIL* 9. 2847 (= *ILS* 971, Histonium), 10.8417 (Velletri), 11.610 (Fiesole), 14.3604 (= *ILS* 1043, Tivoli), to Ch. Pinarius Severus, fl. 112 A.D., seems to be an abandonment of the principle of the king's military and civic immunity, S. J. Simon, *CJ* 69 (1973) 92. In this case, however, the *regnum* could be the honor crowning the completion of his *cursus honorum*, and a sinecure in his old age, Lambertz, *RE* 20.1406 f., s.v. Pinarius (25).

42) *CIL* 14.2413 (= 6.2125, *ILS* 4942, Bovillae), 14.2634 (Tusculum); *RE*, s.v. *Palatina*.

43) Cato *Agr.* 143.1; Wissowa *RuK*² 421 f.; Franz Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religionen der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom* ("Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur: Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissen-

animals which had never known a yoke are, according to the poets, the fittest sacrifices to the gods, the unfitness of bondsmen as human celebrants in anything but their own private rites is a universal scruple, which is observed well beyond the narrow confines of the City of Rome.

The rex Nemorensis, however, is not just any slave. In every instance he is called a *fugitive* slave. Even though opinion after opinion in the Roman legal code is devoted to the principle that the runaway, even if he reaches asylum or finds employment in the arena, still belongs to his master,⁴⁴⁾ such *possessio animo* is fraught with ambiguities. As a natural consequence, there is a large and complicated literature which attempts to define the rights of a master over the fugitive and the profit or liability which might be his as a result of his fugitive's actions.⁴⁵⁾

In the juridical literature, the fugitive's temporary escape from his master's *potestas* is usually considered only from the point of view of civil and criminal liability.⁴⁶⁾ Yet there seems to be a possibility of a broader application of the opinion of the jurisconsult Cn. Arulenus Caelius Sabinus, a contemporary of Nero and Vespasian. His descrip-

schaft Klasse," 7, 1957) 556. H. Wagenvoort, *Roman Dynamism* (Oxford, 1947) 138-40, 151, says that the slave is ineligible to perform family sacrifices, because he would create a vacuum of *numen*. W. W. Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery* (Cambridge, 1908) 73, takes a legalistic view: "a slave did not belong to the *gens* of his master, and therefore had no share in its *sacra*." A reconciliation between the two emphases can be derived from H. J. Rose, "On the Original Significance of the Genius," *CQ* 17 (1923) 57-60: the genius is the inherited family *numen*, possessed in more remote times by only one person at a time: viz., the *paterfamilias*.

44) *Dig.* 11.4.5, on fugitives in the arena; 21.1.17 *passim*, 21.1.43.1, definition of a *fugitivus* by his intent, rather than his destination or manner of flight; 11.4.4, responsibility of officials to return fugitives; 15.1.48, 40.7.14.1, 46.3.34.5, limits to validity of fugitives' agreements and autonomy; 48.15.6.2, concealment of a fugitive a civil crime against the master.

45) W. W. Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery*, 267-74; Max Kaser, *Das Römische Privatrecht*² (Iwan von Müller, "Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft," Abt. 10, Teil 3, Band 3, Abschn. 1, Munich, 1971) 394, 419 n. 9; Fritz Pringsheim, "Acquisition of Ownership through Servus Fugitivus," *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Heidelberg, 1961) 339 ff. = *Studi... Solazzi* (1948) 3 ff.; R. W. Leage, *Roman Private Law*³ (revised by A. M. Prichard, London, 1961) 173.

46) *Pauli Sententiae* 2.31.37; W. W. Buckland, *A Manual of Roman Private Law* (Cambridge, 1953) 334; *id.*, *A Textbook of Roman Private Law* (Cambridge, 1950) 602.

tion of the status of a fugitive slave smacks of good, rough-hewn, Roman practicality.⁴⁷⁾

idem (sc. Caelius) ait libertatis cuiusdam speciem esse fugisse, hoc est potestate dominica in praesenti liberatum esse.

Caelius says that the fact of having escaped is, so to speak, a kind of freedom; i.e., a momentary freedom from a master's power.

The taint of servility is not indelible.⁴⁸⁾ And Caelius, when he introduces the concept of *libertatis species*, opens up a brief glimpse of the fugitive as a *de facto* owner of his own person, competent, at least for the moment, to assume the sacral role normally denied a slave.

With the discovery, or legal fiction, of a reservoir of *fugitivi*, then, the indecorous subjection of Roman citizens to ritual bloodletting is averted. But the essential requirements of the succession are satisfied in an acceptable manner: not by citizens, nor, on the other hand, by slaves, criminals, and the obvious dregs of society, but by candidates who, having shed an owner's *potestas* (to which they could have previously submitted, *pro forma*, as part of the legal fiction), are technically acceptable. The victorious king of the grove would then serve Diana, not because she likes bloodshed, nor because she likes slaves, but because she is the deity most prominent in his domain.

47) *Dig.* 21.1.17.10 = F. P. Bremer (ed.), *Iurisprudentia antehadriana* (Leipzig, 1901) III, p. 252.

48) Serv. *Aen.* 2.57 (cf. Aul. Gell. 10.15.8): a *vinctus* is not permitted to enter the house of the flamen Dialis; but if he should get in, the shackles must be cast out through the *impluvium*, thus avoiding the *numen*-laden doorway. The implication is that once the *vincula* are removed and properly disposed of, the taint of bondage is gone from the person who has worn them.

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JUPITER-YAHVÉ

Sur un essai de théologie pagano-juive

PAR

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L'image classique des relations entre le judaïsme antique et le paganisme gréco-romain est celle d'une incompréhension mutuelle et d'un mépris réciproque. Aux yeux des Juifs le culte païen s'adresse à de vulgaires idoles, faites de main d'homme et sans autre réalité que celle que leur confère le sculpteur ¹⁾, aux éléments de la nature ²⁾, à des personnages humains divinisés ³⁾, à des démons ⁴⁾. L'apologétique juive a hésité entre ces explications contradictoires et parfois même s'efforce de les concilier. Elles impliquent toutes une condamnation radicale de la religion adverse, qui n'est qu'erreur. Les païens de leur côté, déconcertés par l'intransigeant monothéisme d'Israël, en ont rendu compte de différentes manières: culte d'un âne ⁵⁾; culte d'un dieu national, ethnique, qui pourrait certes trouver sa place dans le panthéon officiel, mais une place modeste, à la mesure du petit peuple dont il a la charge ⁶⁾; culte des nuées du ciel ou d'un *numen* céleste, c'est-à-dire d'une divinité réelle à coup sûr, mais élevée à tort au rang d'un dieu unique, alors qu'elle préside seulement à un secteur de l'univers physique ⁷⁾; en mettant les choses au mieux, culte d'un dieu imprécis et inconnu ⁸⁾.

1) C'est la position la plus commune dans la Bible: *Psaumes* 115 et 135; *Isaïe* 44, 14 ss.; *Sagesse* de Salomon 13-15. Cf. Philon, *De Vita Contempl.* 7.

2) Cf. en particulier Philon, *De Decal.* 53-58.

3) P. ex. Philon, *Legatio ad Caïum*, 78, à propos des demi-dieux interprétés dans une perspective évhémériste.

4) Source scripturaire de cette interprétation *Deuter.* 32, 17. La même interprétation reparait, ainsi que les précédentes, chez les auteurs chrétiens, p. ex. Paul, *I Cor.* 8, 4-5.

5) Tacite, *Hist.* 5, 3-4. Sur cette interprétation et les suivantes cf. Th. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaïsme*, Paris, 1895, passim.

6) Julien, *Contra Galil.* 115 D; éd. Neumann, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 187-188; cf. J. Bidez, *Vie de l'empereur Julien*, Paris, 1930, p. 306.

7) Juvénal, *Satires*, 14, 97.

8) Lucain, *Pharsale*, 2, 592: „*dedita sacris incerti Judaea dei*”.

On enregistre cependant çà et là, tant du côté païen que du côté juif, des appréciations plus positives formulées sur la religion de l'autre camp. Je ne parle pas ici des milieux syncrétisants qui, en marge du paganisme officiel et de la Synagogue, tentent une synthèse plus ou moins heureuse et logique entre éléments empruntés aux deux cultes. Je n'envisage que des courants de pensée qui, se manifestant au sein même du paganisme classique et du judaïsme, ne peuvent pas être caractérisés comme marginaux et sectaires. S'ils témoignent bien d'une tentative de rapprochement et ont pu apparaître à certains comme une invitation au syncrétisme, ils n'ont pas cependant abouti, que nous sachions, à la constitution de groupements judéo-païens. Ils n'en sont que plus intéressants, parce qu'ils peuvent être inscrits à l'actif de chacune des deux religions comme un essai de rendre justice à l'autre sans pour autant altérer en rien ses propres positions.

L'effort était sensiblement plus facile du côté païen. Ravaler Yahvé, comme incline à le faire Julien l'Apostat, au rang d'un modeste „ethnarque”, c'était faire offense à la foi juive, parce qu'on lui imposait ainsi un cadre polythéiste et parce que du même coup on dépossédait le Dieu biblique de son empire universel. Ce n'est pas cette solution qui fut retenue par ceux des païens qui, soucieux de tendre la main aux Juifs, l'étaient aussi de ménager leurs susceptibilités. Il fallait pour cela, sans renoncer aux catégories traditionnelles du polythéisme, accorder à Yahvé le rang qui, une fois admis par les Juifs le principe même des équivalences divines, lui revenait de droit, c'est à dire le premier.

Le Très Haut des Juifs — superlatif absolu — pouvait devenir, dans une perspective païenne, le Plus Haut — superlatif relatif. De fait, le nom de *Theos Hypsistos* paraît avoir été, dans l'usage officiel de Rome, la désignation consacrée du Dieu de la Bible. Quand Philon et Josèphe, parlant des marques de bienveillance prodiguées par Auguste envers le judaïsme, font mention du Dieu Très Haut, il semble bien qu'ils citent fidèlement un document de la chancellerie impériale⁹⁾. Julien lui-même, oubliant qu'il veut ailleurs faire de Yahvé un simple „ethnarque”, parle, à propos de son projet de reconstruire le Temple de Jérusalem, de sanctuaire du Dieu Très Haut et ne fait sans doute que se

9) *Leg. ad Caium*, 157 et 317, éd. Pelletier (*Les œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie*, 32) Paris, 1972, p. 181 n. 7; *Ant. Jud.* 16, 163.

conformer ainsi à l'usage établi par ses prédécesseurs païens¹⁰). Il explicite du reste sa pensée lorsqu'il écrit: „Le Dieu qu'ils honorent est en vérité le Dieu très puissant et très bon qui gouverne le monde sensible et que nous vénérons nous-mêmes, je le sais, sous d'autres noms”¹¹). La primauté de Yahvé sur l'ensemble du panthéon est ainsi clairement affirmée. Je n'insisterai pas davantage sur l'histoire du terme *Hypsistos* comme appellation à la fois juive et païenne du Dieu d'Israël. J'en ai parlé plus longuement dans une publication récente¹²). C'est sur les tentatives juives pour interpréter la théologie païenne que je voudrais maintenant m'arrêter un instant.

Elles ont trouvé leur expression classique chez Philon: „Mais s'il existe, celui que tous, Grecs et Barbares, reconnaissent unanimement, le Père suprême des dieux et des hommes et le démiurge de l'univers entier, dont la nature est invisible et impénétrable, non seulement pour l'œil mais pour l'esprit... alors c'était le devoir de tous les hommes de s'attacher à lui et de ne pas introduire comme par quelque artifice d'autres dieux pour recevoir les mêmes honneurs”¹³). On retrouve comme un écho de cette affirmation chez Numénios: „Le dieu juif est sans partage, père de tous les dieux, et il juge tout autre que lui indigne d'avoir part à son culte”¹⁴). Il ne faut pas s'étonner outre mesure que Philon puisse, dans la même phrase, répudier sans détours le polythéisme et qualifier d'autre part son Dieu de Père des dieux et des hommes, de même qu'il le désigne, à plusieurs reprises, comme Roi ou Dieu des dieux¹⁵). La contradiction n'est qu'apparente. Certes, il ne manque pas de passages dans l'Ancien Testament qui présentent eux aussi Yahvé comme Père et Seigneur des dieux¹⁶). Et le substrat initial de la religion d'Israël est incontestablement polythéiste: monolâtrie et monothéisme ne sont pas synonymes. Il est possible que Philon se soit souvenu de ces précédents. Mais plus encore que les textes bibliques,

10) Julien, *Œuvres Complètes*, éd. Bidez, I, 2, Paris, 1924, Lettre 134, p. 197.

11) Lettre 89, éd. Bidez, I, 2, pp. 154-155.

12) „Theos Hypsistos”, *Ex Orbe Religionum* (Mélanges G. Widengren), Leyde, 1972, I, pp. 372-385; cf. P. Boyancé, „Le Dieu très haut chez Philon”, *Mélanges d'Histoire des Religions offerts à H. Ch. Puech*, Paris, 1974, pp. 139-149.

13) *De Spec. Leg.* II, 165.

14) Numénios, *Fragments*, éd. des Places, Paris, 1974, Fragm. 56.

15) *Quod omnis probus*, 43; *De Decal.* 41; *Mos.* II, 206; *De Spec. Leg.* I, 307 et II, 165; *Poster.* 175; *Mutat.* 45.

16) Ainsi *Deut.* 9, 26 et 10, 17; *Ps.* 136, 2-3; *Daniel*, 2, 47; cf. éd. Petit du *Quod omnis* (*Œuvres*, 28), Paris, 1974, p. 172, n.1.

c'est sans doute la formule homérique qui fait de Zeus le „Père des hommes et des dieux” qui explique sa façon de parler ¹⁷). N'attachons pas à ce cliché littéraire de signification trop précise. Il ne vise chez Philon qu'à exprimer, sous une forme consacrée par l'usage, la paternité et la souveraineté universelle d'un Dieu qu'il ne nomme pas mais qui, dans une perspective païenne, est évidemment Zeus. Les autres dieux n'ont pas en tant que tels de réalité objective: ils sont des inventions de l'esprit humain. Ce qui importe dans la thèse philonienne, c'est cette constatation qu'un monothéisme virtuel est toujours sous-jacent à la multiplicité des dieux et à la hiérarchie que les mythologies païennes établissent entre eux. Ce que la Bible seule professe avec une parfaite clarté, les Gentils en ont au moins une certaine intuition.

Il est légitime dès lors pour un Juif, au lieu de rejeter indifféremment dans les ténèbres extérieures tous les dieux païens, de retenir celui d'entre eux qui occupe dans le panthéon la place suprême et de reconnaître en lui le Dieu même qui s'est révélé dans la Bible. C'est ce que fait de la façon la plus explicite, avant Philon, chez qui ce Dieu universel reste anonyme ¹⁸), la Lettre d'Aristée, document de propagande juive censé écrit par un païen et datant probablement du II^{ème} siècle av. J. C.: „Les Juifs adorent le Dieu souverain maître et créateur de toutes choses, celui qu'adorent aussi tous les hommes et que nous, roi nous désignons simplement d'un autre nom, en l'appelant Zeus” (*Ζῆνα καὶ Δία*) ¹⁹).

Peut-être est-ce l'équivalence ainsi établie et acceptée qui explique un détail de la *Legatio ad Caium* de Philon. L'auteur y fustige la folie de Caligula qui s'identifie non seulement aux demi-dieux, mais aussi à „ceux qui sont regardés comme les plus grands et de pure souche,

¹⁷) Le *De Providentia*, II, 15, dans la traduction arménienne, fait référence „au plus loué des poètes, Homère, qui nomme Jupiter Père des hommes et des dieux” (*Iliade*, I, 544). Cette référence est absente du fragment grec conservé par Eusèbe, *Praep. Evang.* 8, 14: cf. éd. Hadas-Lebel du *De Prov.* (*Œuvres*, 35), Paris, 1973, pp. 228-229, n. 1.

¹⁸) On notera toutefois que le *Quod omnis*, 19, citant le fragment, 688, 3 de Sophocle, qui se lit *Ζεὺς ἐμὸς ἄρχων, θνητὸς δ' οὐδείς*, remplace *Ζεὺς* par *θεός*. Ambroise, *Epist.* 37, 28 traduit ce même fragment „*Jupiter mihi praeest, nullus autem hominum*”. Comme il l'a sans doute connu par Philon, il est vraisemblable que chez celui-ci aussi la citation comportait primitivement *Ζεὺς*: cf. éd. Petit, p. 151, n. 4.

¹⁹) *Lettre d'Aristée*, 16.

Hermès, Apollon, Arès” 20). On s’est étonné que Zeus ne soit pas mentionné ici, alors que, selon Suétone et Dion Cassius, Caligula prétendait également s’identifier à lui. Le plus récent commentateur du texte explique ce silence par le fait que selon la Lettre d’Aristée et aux yeux des Juifs hellénisés, „sous le vocable de Zeus les païens adoraient le vrai Dieu. Prétendre s’identifier à Zeus est alors tout autre chose que s’identifier à quelque divinité du polythéisme. Il répugnait au Juif Philon d’en parler”. Et lorsque plus loin Philon cite la dédicace de la statue destinée au Temple de Jérusalem, où Caligula se qualifie de Nouveau Zeus Epiphane, „il s’abstient de tout commentaire: pour lui, elle est en elle-même un blasphème” 21). L’explication est séduisante et, à mon sens, plausible.

Il n’est pas exclu qu’en plus de considérations proprement théologiques sur le Dieu suprême l’analogie formelle *Yahvé-Jovem* ait facilité cette assimilation des deux figures divines. On doit cependant noter que le rapprochement verbal n’était possible qu’en latin. Ni le nominatif *Zeus*, ni l’accusatif *Zèna* n’y invitaient. Tout au plus l’autre forme de l’accusatif, *Dia*, a-t-elle pu être rapprochée, à l’occasion, bien que l’accent soit placé différemment dans les deux termes, sur le *i* d’un côté, sur le *a* de l’autre, de la forme courte du nom biblique, *Yah*, qui apparaît par exemple dans l’acclamation liturgique *halleluyah* et dans la composition de certains noms propres de personnes 22). On doit noter en outre que le nom Yahvé est absent de la Septante et plus généralement des textes du judaïsme hellénistique: le tétragramme ineffable ne pouvait pas, sans sacrilège, faire l’objet d’une translittération dans une autre langue. Le Dieu biblique est fondamentalement anonyme. Si cependant le tétragramme figure, en lettres hébraïques, sur certains fragments pré-chrétiens de la Bible grecque retrouvés au cours des années récentes, il faut voir là un rappel plutôt qu’une violation de l’interdit rituel. Si en effet il avait dû, dans l’intention des usagers de ces manuscrits, être prononcé, il eût été plus simple de l’écrire en caractères grecs. L’usage d’une graphie peut-être illisible, au moins pour certains lecteurs, devait au contraire souligner le mystère entourant le nom divin et inciter à lire soit *Kyrios*, substitut le plus

20) *Legatio*, 93.

21) Ed. Pelletier (*Œuvres*, 32), Paris, 1972, p. 129, n. 4.

22) Cf. R. de Vaux, *Histoire ancienne d’Israël*, Paris, 1971, pp. 321-322.

commun du tétragramme, soit encore, selon l'usage palestinien, *Adonai* 23).

Toutefois cet anonymat et l'interdit qui le motivait ne paraissent pas avoir été toujours respectés dans certains milieux juifs plus ou moins marginaux. Sans remonter jusqu'à la communauté juive d'Eléphantine, qui adorait son Dieu sous un nom très voisin de Yahvé 24), le nom *Iaō* ou ses variantes *Iaoue*, *Iaβe* est d'emploi très fréquent sur les papyrus magiques aux approches et au début de l'ère chrétienne: son usage se répand dans les sphères syncrétisantes dans le temps même où à partir de 300 environ av. J.C., le judaïsme officiel évite et finalement abandonne l'usage parlé du tétragramme 25). A côté des documents de la magie, des textes littéraires attestent également que le nom ineffable n'était pas inconnu du public païen. Diodore de Sicile sait que „chez les Juifs, Moïse disait avoir reçu les lois du dieu appelé *Iaō*” 26). Varron de son côté note que „le dieu des Juifs est appelé *Iaō* par les Chaldéens (entendons les astrologues et magiciens) dans leurs écrits secrets” 27).

Il est intéressant de voir comment Saint Augustin, apparemment par référence à ce texte, et tenant pour admise par les païens l'équivalence Yahvé-Zeus, présente les choses: „Varron pensait que le dieu des Juifs, c'est Jupiter, — *deum Judaeorum Jovem putavit* — estimant que le nom importait peu, du moment qu'on entendait désigner la même réalité divine ...” Il fait dire ensuite à des interlocuteurs païens supposés: „Nous-mêmes nous adorons ce Jupiter dont Virgile (*Eclog.* 3,60) dit *Iovis omnia plena*. Il s'agit de l'esprit qui donne la vie à tout. C'est à juste titre par conséquent que Varron estimait que les Juifs adorent Jupiter, puisqu'il dit par l'intermédiaire du prophète (Jér.

23) Cf. S. Schulz, „Maranatha und Kyrios Jesus”, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1962, pp. 128-130. L'auteur conclut, à tort me semble-t-il, de ces quelques exemples, que c'était là l'usage commun de la Diaspora et que l'introduction dans le texte biblique de *Kyrios* à la place du tétragramme est une innovation des manuscrits chrétiens des 4e-5e siècles, qui seuls nous ont conservé le texte intégral de la Septante.

24) R. de Vaux, *op. cit.* p. 322.

25) O. Eissfeldt, „Jahwe-Name und Zauberverwesen”, *Kleine Schriften*, I, 1962, pp. 162 ss.

26) Diodore, I, 94.

27) *De Mens.* 4, 53; cf. M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 2ème éd., Tübingen, 1973, p. 472.

23, 24): je remplis le ciel et la terre" ²⁸). L'équivalence est pour eux tellement naturelle qu'ils attribuent la citation biblique à Jupiter, seul sujet grammaticalement possible du *dicat* qui l'introduit.

Il est possible, voire probable, que l'affirmation de Varron repose sur un jeu de mots Jovem-Iaô, puisqu'il connaît aussi ce dernier nom. Mais de ce jeu de mots rien ne transparaît dans la façon dont Augustin explique qu'il ait pu nommer Jupiter le Dieu des Juifs: „Comme les Romains ne vénèrent rien qui soit au-dessus de Jupiter, ce dont témoigne de façon suffisamment claire leur Capitole, et qu'ils le considèrent comme le roi de tous les dieux, Varron, constatant que les Juifs adorent le Dieu suprême, n'a pu que conjecturer qu'il s'agissait de Jupiter" ²⁹). C'est à partir des attributs de souveraineté des deux dieux et non pas de leurs noms que l'équivalence est ici expliquée.

Porphyre, cité par Eusèbe, déclare que „nos connaissances les plus exactes sur les Juifs viennent de Sanchuniathon, qui avait reçu les livres de Hiérombal, prêtre du dieu Ievô (Ἰευῶ) " ³⁰). Il pourrait s'agir ici d'une divinité phénicienne, à en juger par le nom du prêtre. Il est clair du moins que nous sommes en présence d'une variante du nom Yahvé ³¹).

Macrobe enfin, cite un vers orphique ainsi libellé:

„Un Zeus, un Hadès, un Hélios, un Dionysos”.

Il le rapproche d'un oracle de Claros, où figure parmi les autres noms divins, appellations du soleil, celui de Iaô. Consulté sur le sens de ce vocable Apollon répondit: „Sache que le plus grand de tous les dieux est Iaô, qui est Hadès en hiver, Zeus lorsque le printemps arrive, Hélios en été, le puissant Iaô en automne" ³²). On saisit très bien selon quel principe ces différents noms sont répartis entre les saisons. L'hiver, c'est le sommeil de la nature, assimilé à la torpeur des enfers

²⁸) *De consensu Evangel.* I, 22, 30 et 23, 31 (PL 34, 1055); cf. M. Hengel, *loc. cit.*

²⁹) *Op. cit.* I, 22, 30.

³⁰) *Praep. Evang.* I, 9, 21.

³¹) W. Vischer, „Eher Jahwo als Jahwe”, *Theol. Zeitschrift*, 1960, pp. 259 ss. fait état, entre autres arguments, de ce nom divin pour essayer d'établir que le tétragramme se prononçait Jahwo; brève réfutation de de Vaux, *op. cit.* p. 323.

³²) *Saturnales*, I, 18 ss. On sait que par ailleurs Plutarque identifie le Dieu juif à Dionysos: *Quaest. Conv.* 4, 6, Reinach, *Textes*, pp. 142 ss. Cette opinion est mentionnée par Tacite, *Hist.* 5, 5, qui la rejette comme fausse.

et du monde souterrain où dort la végétation. Le printemps voit la vie renaître et si Zeus lui est affecté, c'est en rapport avec l'étymologie courante qui explique *Zèna* par *zèn*. Hélios est tout naturellement le dieu de la saison chaude. *Iaô* — ici en tant que Dionysos — préside au temps des vendanges. Son nom est en même temps le plus compréhensif des noms divins et le plus propre à désigner la divinité suprême, alors que les autres appellations n'en expriment que les aspects divers ³³).

Il est curieux que Macrobe ne fasse aucune référence, dans ce contexte, au judaïsme et s'abstienne, bien qu'écrivant en latin et commentant dans cette langue l'oracle qu'il cite en grec, de souligner une quelconque ressemblance entre *Jovem* et *Iaô*. Celse enfin qui accepte lui aussi l'identité du dieu de la Bible et du dieu suprême des païens, n'insère pas *Iaô* dans la liste des appellations possibles pour désigner cette figure divine: „Il importe peu qu'on nomme Zeus (*Dia*) Très Haut, ou Zeus (*Zèna*), ou Adonai, ou Sabaoth, ou Ammon comme les Egyptiens, ou Papaïos comme les Scythes" ³⁴).

On peut, semble-t-il, conclure de ces différents témoignages que les tenants de l'équivalence entre le Dieu biblique et le chef du panthéon gréco-romain ont bien pu dans certains cas tirer argument de leurs noms respectifs et des analogies qu'ils pensaient déceler entre *Jovem* et éventuellement *Dia* d'une part, *Iaô* de l'autre. Mais cela n'a pu jouer, apparemment, qu'à titre secondaire, pour corroborer une conclusion déjà acquise par d'autres voies. Ce qui est fondamental, c'est cette constatation que le Dieu unique des Juifs, sous quelque nom qu'on l'adore, est identique, parce que leurs attributs sont les mêmes, au grand dieu de la mythologie.

Une fois admis que Zeus et Yahvé ne sont qu'une seule et même divinité, le culte que les païens rendaient au premier devenait parfaitement légitime et respectable. Bien plus, les Juifs pouvaient sans contradiction ni apostasie s'y associer à l'occasion, tout au moins de façon indirecte. La manière dont l'écrivain juif Eupolèmos, qu'il faut placer,

33) *Iaô* prend ainsi la place que les théologiens païens assignaient volontiers à Jupiter: „*Hî omnes dîi deaeque sit unus Jupiter: sive sint, ut quidam volunt, omnia ista partes ejus, sive virtutes ejus, sicut eis videtur quibus eum placet esse mundi animum*”, Augustin, *Cité de Dieu*, 4, 11.

34) *Contre Celse*, Origène, 5, 41. Il est possible qu'un informateur juif lui ait appris que Dieu est nommé Adonai ou (Adonai) Zebaoth, mais ne lui ait point parlé du tétragramme.

semble-t-il, vers le milieu du II^e siècle av. J.C., relate la construction du Temple est à cet égard très caractéristique. Il prend avec le récit qu'en donnent les textes bibliques d'intéressantes libertés ³⁵).

L'entreprise revêt, sous sa plume, une dimension vraiment „oecuménique”. A la participation active de Hiram, roi de Tyr, devenu ici roi de la Phénicie tout entière, ce qui donne plus de poids à son concours, s'ajoute celle d'un pharaon Uaphrès. Il existe un souverain de ce nom dans la 26^eme dynastie, quelque 400 ans après Salomon: on ne saisit pas bien pour quelles raisons c'est lui qui est ainsi présenté comme son contemporain ³⁶). Non content de restituer dans tout son détail, à partir de *I Rois*, 5, 15 ss. et *II Chron.* 3, 10 ss. la correspondance échangée entre Salomon et Hiram, il en imagine une aussi avec Uaphrès, et donne ainsi l'occasion aux deux rois païens de proclamer la prééminence du Dieu d'Israël, créateur de l'univers, dont ils aident grandement à rendre magnifique la demeure terrestre.

D'après la Bible, le bronzier Hiram, homonyme du roi de Tyr, envoyé par le souverain pour contribuer à la décoration du Temple, était de père tyrien et de mère israélite: fils d'une veuve de la tribu de Nephtali selon *I Rois* 7, 14, d'une Danite selon *II Chron.* 2, 13. Eupolemos n'en reste pas là. Il précise que cet homme est de la tribu de David, soulignant ainsi le lien étroit qui l'unit à Salomon lui-même. Il n'y a rien encore dans tout cela que l'affirmation d'une sorte d'impérialisme spirituel israélite, accepté sans réticence par les peuples voisins. Mais, et c'est là que se retrouve la théologie du Pseudo-Aristée, cet empiètement des païens à seconder Salomon et à reconnaître la souveraineté de son Dieu est payé de retour.

Aux termes du contrat passé entre Salomon et Hiram, le premier s'engageait à assurer la subsistance des ouvriers phéniciens qu'il employait (*I Rois* 5, 23) et versa à Hiram, en conséquence, chaque année, 20.000 muids de froment et 20.000 mesures d'huile, auxquels *II Chron.* 2, 9 ajoute 20.000 mesures de vin et 20.000 muids d'orge. Eupolémus renchérit: Salomon fournit aux ouvriers païens les animaux nécessaires

35) Fragments conservés par Eusèbe, *Praep. Evang.* 9, 26, 31-34 et 39; cf. W. N. Stearns, *Fragments from Graeco-Jewish Writers*, Chicago, 1908, pp. 29-41 et P. Dalbert, *Die Theologie der hellenistisch-jüdischen Missions-Literatur*, Hambourg, 1954, pp. 35-42.

36) Peut-être ce choix s'explique-t-il par le fait que Jérémie, 51, 30 (Septante) = 44, 30 (texte hébreu) mentionne ce personnage, qui régna de 588 à 569.

aux sacrifices et à la consummation, ἱερεῖα εἰς κρεωφαγίαν ³⁷). Politesse diplomatique, opportunisme, concession scandaleuse à un culte idolâtre? Non pas. Cette mesure s'éclaire à la lumière d'une autre: en pendant aux deux colonnes de bronze coulées pour le Temple par l'artisan Hiram (*I Rois* 7, 15; *II Chron.* 4, 12), Salomon, d'après Eupolémos, envoie une colonne d'or pour décorer le temple de Zeus à Tyr ³⁸). C'est ce Zeus aussi, selon toute apparence, que vénèrent les ouvriers phéniciens. Et Zeus, c'est Yahvé. Le geste de Salomon n'est ainsi que la transposition logique, sur le plan de la pratique, de l'équivalence formulée par la lettre d'Aristée.

Nous pouvons, à la lumière de ces remarques, reconsidérer certains moments des relations entre le judaïsme et le monde païen. Et tout d'abord la politique palestinienne d'Antiochus Epiphane. Ressentie par les Juifs comme une agression intolérable contre leur religion, elle provoqua l'insurrection macchabéenne, rapidement victorieuse, qui aboutit à une indépendance de fait sous la dynastie indigène des Hasmonéens. Mais, comme E. Bickermann l'a montré, de façon parfaitement convaincante à mon sens, il ne s'agissait pas pour Antiochus, en installant dans le Temple le culte de Zeus Olympios, de substituer un dieu à un autre, mais simplement de donner un nom à un dieu qui n'en avait pas ³⁹). Le Dieu des Juifs apparaît en effet communément aux païens, j'y faisais allusion plus haut, comme un dieu anonyme, ce qu'il était en effet, au moins dans la pratique. C'est le *deus incertus* de Lucain ⁴⁰). Caligula parle de θεὸς ἀκατονόμαστος ⁴¹); Dion Cassius signale qu'il est pour ses fidèles ἄρρητος ⁴²); et Tite Live écrit: „*Hierosolymis fanum, cujus deorum sit non nominant*” ⁴³). Ces notations sont évidemment en rapport avec le caractère ineffable du tétragramme divin: un nom qui ne peut pas être prononcé est comme s'il n'existait pas.

Chez les autres Sémites de l'Ouest les dieux n'ont pas non plus, souvent, de nom propre: El et Baal sont, dans le principe, des appel-

37) Dalbert, *op. cit.* p. 42.

38) *Ibid.*

39) *Der Gott der Makkabäer*, Berlin, 1937, pp. 92 ss.

40) *Pharsale*, 2, 592.

41) Philon, *Legatio*, 358.

42) Dion Cassius, 37, 12, 2.

43) Fragment 26a, scholie sur Lucain, 2, 592.

lations génériques, des noms communs, plus ou moins nettement individualisés dans les divers panthéons locaux. C'est au contact des Grecs, par assimilation avec des figures de la mythologie classique, que certaines au moins de ces divinités sémitiques obtinrent un état-civil plus précis, défini par un nom propre. Le même processus a joué sous Antiochus à Jérusalem et aussi sur le Garizim, où le „sanctuaire anonyme” est, cette fois à la demande des Samaritains eux-mêmes, proclamé temple de Zeus ⁴⁴). Le choix de Zeus Olympios pour Jérusalem s'explique fort bien ⁴⁵). *Olympios* est, à l'époque hellénistique, pratiquement synonyme de *Ouranios*. Or c'est comme dieu du ciel — le *caeli numen* de Juvénal — que le Dieu de la Bible est, depuis l'époque perse, caractérisé par les païens. Il était donc parfaitement normal qu'Antiochus, dans la perspective qui était la sienne, voulût faire adorer ce dieu pratiquement anonyme sous le nom de Zeus Olympios ⁴⁶).

Pareille démarche ne pouvait évidemment pas être comprise par l'opinion juive palestinienne, pour qui Zeus n'était qu'un faux dieu parmi beaucoup d'autres. Mais regardons maintenant comment Josèphe présente les choses. Il cite, en le paraphrasant, le passage de la Lettre d'Aristée qui est, semble-t-il, notre plus ancien témoin d'une théologie judéo-païenne harmonisante: „Eux comme nous nous adorons le dieu qui a créé l'univers, que nous appelons de façon appropriée Zeus (*Zḡνα*) parce qu'il insuffle la vie à toutes les créatures (*ἀπὸ τοῦ πᾶσιν ἐμφύειν τὸ ζῆν*)” ⁴⁷). Cette citation éclaire la façon dont il rend compte, un peu plus loin, de la profanation du Temple par Antiochus. Son récit concorde, pour l'essentiel, avec celui que donnent

44) *II Macch.* 6, 2; Josèphe, *Ant. Jud.* 12, 259-261. Les Samaritains se qualifient en cette circonstance, selon Josèphe, de Sidoniens.

45) Bickermann, *op. cit.* p. 96.

46) D'après Philon de Byblos, interprétant Sanchuniaton et cité par Eusèbe, *Praep. Evang.* I, 10, 7, les Phéniciens „tenaient le soleil pour un Dieu, le seul souverain du ciel, et l'appelaient Beelsamen (Baalshamin), c'est-à-dire chez les Phéniciens souverain du ciel, chez les Grecs Zeus”. La mesure prise par Antiochus se situe donc dans le contexte grec et sémitique à la fois: cf. O. Eissfeldt, „Baalšamen und Jahwe”, *Kleine Schriften*, II, 1963, pp. 171-198, qui rappelle également l'identification par les Perses de Yahvé à Ahura Mazda, lui aussi dieu céleste et créateur.

47) *Ant. Jud.* 12, 22. L'étymologie qui explique *Zeus-Zèna* par le verbe *zèn* et *Dia* par la préposition *dia* est courante à l'époque: cf. p. ex. Diodore de Sicile 3, 61, 6.

I et *II Macchabées*, mais avec quelques particularités intéressantes. Il ne fait mention ni de Zeus Olympios, que désigne nommément *II Macch.* 6, 2, ni même de „l'abomination de la désolation”, expression empruntée par *I Macch.* I, 54 au Livre de Daniel (9, 27; 11, 31) et qui désigne l'autel de Zeus édifié sur le grand autel des holocaustes. Il se contente de dire, faisant une allusion très discrète, incompréhensible pour un lecteur non averti, à cette abomination (βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως, *I Macch.* I, 54), qu'Antiochus „rendit le sanctuaire désert (ἐρημωθέντα)” par quoi il faut entendre d'une part qu'il le dépouilla de son mobilier liturgique, de son trésor et plus généralement de tout ce qu'il renfermait de précieux, d'autre part que le culte légitime cessa d'y être célébré. Il parle simplement d'un autel, sans dire à qui il est dédié. Il souligne en outre le caractère polythéiste du culte ainsi implanté à Jérusalem et dans tout le pays: Antiochus oblige les Juifs à vénérer „ses propres dieux”, au pluriel. Il insiste enfin sur le fait que le souverain fait immoler, dans le Temple et sur les autels édifiés à travers la Palestine, des porcs, „type de sacrifice illégal chez les Juifs et étranger à leurs coutumes ancestrales” 48).

Le silence qu'il observe touchant le nom de la divinité intronisée à Jérusalem me paraît significatif. Pour qui admet, comme Josèphe vient de le faire explicitement, que Zeus et le Dieu juif sont une seule et même divinité, le sacrilège ne réside pas dans la substitution, qui n'en est pas une, de l'un à l'autre, mais dans le contexte idolâtrique et polythéiste où elle se situe, dans les actes de brigandage d'Antiochus, dans les modalités du culte qu'il plante et dans les multiples mesures d'intolérance et de persécution qu'il prend à l'encontre des Juifs. Ce n'est pas, aux yeux de Josèphe, la personnalité du dieu qui crée le scandale, mais seulement la façon dont Antiochus prétend le faire vénérer par Israël. Comme le dit encore Bickermann, „Der Gott war derselbe geblieben, aber nicht der Gottesdienst”: tel est exactement le point de vue de Josèphe.

Lorsque celui-ci, répondant à Apion, parle, dans un contexte polémique, du „prétendu père” qu'est Zeus, le qualifie de tyran et dénonce

48) *Ant. Jud.* 12, 320 et 253. La brève mention que Josèphe fait d'Antiochus dans *Bell. Jud.* 1, 2, 34-35 est plus discrète encore: il dénonce ses violences, mais ne lui reproche sur le plan religieux, que d'avoir „contraint les Juifs, au mépris de leurs lois nationales, à laisser leurs enfants incirconcis et à sacrifier des porcs sur l'autel”, sans préciser à qui cet autel est dédié.

ses aventures galantes ⁴⁹⁾, il ne faut pas voir là de contradiction avec son idée d'un Dieu suprême adoré partout sous le nom de Zeus et identique au Dieu de la Bible. Il s'en prend simplement aux déformations que l'imagination populaire ou savante, s'exprimant dans la mythologie, a fait subir à l'idée de Dieu et dénonce l'image caricaturale ainsi créée: „Une pareille inconvenance à l'égard de la divinité vient de ce que leurs législateurs n'ont pas eu conscience à l'origine de la véritable nature de Dieu... Mais ceux des philosophes grecs qui ont parlé selon la vérité ont bien vu tout ce que je viens de dire" ⁵⁰⁾.

Quelques années après la tentative d'Antiochus et la révolte qu'elle suscita, en 139 av. J.C., le préteur Cn. Cornelius Hispalus (ou Hispanus) expulsa de Rome, nous apprend Valère Maxime, les Chaldéens (c'est-à-dire les astrologues orientaux), „qui abusaient de la crédulité du peuple. Il renvoya également chez eux les Juifs, qui avaient essayé de corrompre les mœurs romaines par le culte de Jupiter Sabazios" ⁵¹⁾. Ce passage a suscité biens des discussions et des interprétations diverses. Juifs et Chaldéens sont nommés côte à côte, mais dans deux phrases séparées. Il ne semble donc pas qu'ils aient fait l'objet d'une seule et même opération de police, ni à plus forte raison que leurs propagandes respectives aient été unies par un lien quelconque. Comme la mesure d'expulsion des Juifs pourrait avoir coïncidé avec la présence dans la capitale d'une ambassade de Simon Macchabée, venue pour renouveler le traité conclu entre l'Etat hasmonéen et Rome, on a cru parfois pouvoir établir une corrélation entre les deux faits. Mais on l'a fait de deux façons différentes.

Certains savants ont imputé cette propagande juive à des membres de l'ambassade ⁵²⁾. Cette interprétation tire argument en particulier du fait que les missionnaires sont invités à rentrer chez eux, „*repetere domos suas*", ce qui s'entendrait mieux, nous dit-on, de résidents temporaires que de personnes domiciliées en permanence à Rome. L'argument est fragile: le „go home!" des graffiti que nous lisons

49) *Contre Apion*, II, 241.

50) *Contre Apion*, II, 250.

51) L'original du chapitre qui faisait mention de ce fait est perdu. Le texte figure dans l'*Epitome* de Julius Paris, I, 3, 3: „*Idem Judaeos, qui Sabazi Jovis cultu Romanos inficere mores conati erant, repetere domos suas coegit*".

52) Th. Reinach, *Textes*, p. 259 n. 3; H. J. Leon, *The Jews of ancient Rome*, Philadelphie, 1960, p. 3.

parfois, il y a encore peu d'années, sur les murs de nos villes visait l'implantation permanente des troupes américaines en Europe autant et plus que telle mission occasionnelle ou tel visiteur de marque venus des Etats-Unis. D'autres ont pensé au contraire que ce prosélytisme était le fait d'un judaïsme asiatique syncrétisant, considéré comme hérétique par Jérusalem, et que c'est à la demande des ambassadeurs, champions de l'orthodoxie, que la mesure d'expulsion aurait été prise ⁵³). Rien n'atteste qu'il y ait eu coïncidence rigoureuse entre les deux faits, ni qu'il faille en conséquence établir un lien entre eux. Mais ces hypothèses contradictoires posent le problème de la nature exacte de cette propagande.

La mention de Jupiter Sabazios à propos des Juifs est évidemment curieuse. C'est elle qui a fait étiqueter syncrétistes les missionnaires en question ⁵⁴). Il est bien vrai que le rapprochement verbal entre le Kyrios Sabaoth de la Septante et le dieu phrygien Sabazios a suscité dans certains milieux une fusion délibérée, sur le plan de la pensée et sur celui du culte, de leurs deux figures: la secte des Sabazias, telle qu'elle est attestée dans diverses régions à l'époque impériale, porte la marque incontestable d'influences juives ⁵⁵). Elle est le type achevé du groupement syncrétiste judéo-païen. Il me paraît peu vraisemblable cependant que ce soit elle qui soit visée dans le texte de Valère Maxime et qu'un groupe né sans doute d'assez fraîche date, aux effectifs encore modestes et géographiquement très localisé, ait pu déjà se lancer à Rome dans une action missionnaire suffisamment ample et efficace pour inquiéter l'autorité ⁵⁶).

53) R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 3ème éd., Leipzig, 1927, pp. 106 ss.; cf. M. Hengel, *op. cit.* p. 479.

54) Références *ap.* M. Hengel, *loc. cit.* n. 40.

55) Cf. F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 4ème éd., Paris, 1929, pp. 60 ss.; H. Lietzmann, *Geschichte der alten Kirche*, I, Berlin-Leipzig, 1932, pp. 165 ss. L'Asie Mineure est la terre d'élection du syncrétisme judéo-païen, qu'il s'agisse de la secte sabazias ou de celle des Hypsistariens implantés sur les rives du Bosphore.

56) C'est vers 200 av. J. C. qu'Antiochus III installa en Phrygie deux mille familles juives (Josèphe, *Ant. Jud.* 12, 147-153), mais il serait aventureux de faire remonter jusqu'à cette date la naissance du groupement syncrétiste judéo-sabazias. Il ne peut guère être antérieur à l'intégration, en 188, de la Phrygie au royaume de Pergame, qui favorisa le culte de Sabazios: cf. M. Hengel, *op. cit.* p. 479. Sur les origines du judaïsme anatolien, cf. F. Blanchetière, „Juifs et non Juifs, essai sur la Diaspora en Asie Mineure”, *Revue d'Hist. et de Philos. religieuses*, 1974, pp. 367-382.

L'on a pensé parfois à une erreur de Valère Maxime, ou plutôt de sa source, qui aurait fait une confusion entre la divinité phrygienne et le Dieu des Juifs. Et l'on a posé en conséquence le dilemme: ou bien le groupement visé se vouait effectivement au culte de Sabazios, et alors il ne peut s'agir de Juifs, mais d'une forme païenne de *superstitio extranea*, suspecte à l'autorité romaine au même titre que les astrologues ⁵⁷); ou bien il s'agit de Juifs, et alors ce n'est pas Jupiter Sabazios qu'ils prêchent: „Comme il s'agit de Juifs, les mots *Sabazi Jovis* sont sûrement fautifs et c'est de Sabazios Jahvé qu'il s'agit" ⁵⁸).

Ni l'une ni l'autre de ces deux hypothèses ne me semblent satisfaisantes. On notera, à propos de la première, que la simple mention des Juifs chez Valère Maxime crée au moins une présomption. Dans la variante que Nepotianus donne du passage, les Juifs, figurent seuls, sans aucune référence à Sabazios: „*Judaeos quoque, qui Romanis tradere sacra sua conati erant, idem Hispalus urbe exterminavit*" ⁵⁹). Aux yeux du rédacteur, la certitude qu'il s'agissait de Juifs était apparemment fondamentale et l'a amené à supprimer la mention du dieu païen, qui lui paraissait difficile à accorder avec ce contexte. Quant à la seconde hypothèse, elle oublie que les Juifs — des Juifs non syncrétistes — ne pouvaient pas, à l'époque, prêcher leur Dieu sous le nom de Yahvé. Au demeurant, le dilemme n'est sans doute pas éluctable.

On notera à ce propos que dans les équivalences divines proposées par le syncrétisme païen, Sabazios est assimilé à Dionysos-Bacchus plus communément, semble-t-il, qu'à Zeus-Jupiter ⁶⁰). L'appellation employée par Valère Maxime dénote de la part du groupe en question, quelle que soit d'ailleurs son identité, la volonté d'assimiler son dieu au chef du panthéon classique et non pas à une divinité subalterne. Des Sabaziasistes pouvaient certes adopter une telle position; mais des Juifs ne pouvaient adopter que celle-là.

57) Cf. J. B. Frey, *Recherches de Sciences Religieuses*, 1930, pp. 273 ss. H. J. Leon, *op. cit.* p. 4, admet cette possibilité; mais je trouve peu vraisemblable sa suggestion d'expliquer par Sabbath plutôt que par Sabaoth la confusion faite entre sectateurs de Sabazios et Juifs.

58) Ch. Guignebert, *Le monde juif vers le temps de Jésus*, 2ème éd., Paris, 1969, p. 270.

59) Reinach, *Textes*, p. 258, n. 2; Leon, *op. cit.* p. 3, n. 1.

60) Sur l'assimilation faite par certains païens entre le Dieu juif et Dionysos, cf. *supra*, p. 32, n. 46.

D'autre part, la formule *Kyrios Sabaoth*, qu'il semble légitime de déceler derrière le *Jupiter Sabazios* de Valère Maxime, n'avait de sens immédiatement perceptible que pour un public quelque peu familiarisé avec l'hébreu et capable de reconnaître dans *Sabaoth* la transcription du *Zebaoth* biblique. Elle ne pouvait en revanche qu'intriguer le commun des païens. Les traducteurs de la Bible paraissent avoir été conscients du problème. L'expression *Yahvé* (ou *Elohe*) *Zebaoth* est en effet rendue dans la Septante tantôt par *Kyrios* (ou *Theos*) *Sabaoth* (p. ex. *I Sam.* I, 3; *Isaïe* 3, 1)) tantôt par *Kyrios Pantokratôr* (p. ex. *II Sam.* 5, 10) tantôt par *Kyrios tôn Dynamêôn* (en particulier *Psau-mes*). La seconde façon de traduire et la troisième avaient l'avantage d'offrir un sens satisfaisant pour tous les lecteurs; mais elles avaient aussi l'inconvénient de maintenir dans son fâcheux anonymat le Dieu biblique: elles le définissent sans le nommer. *Sabaoth* en revanche pouvait facilement être pris par le public mal informé pour un nom propre, et l'a été effectivement très souvent: qu'on songe à Celse et aux documents magiques ⁶¹). On conçoit fort bien que des Juifs, interrogés sur l'identité de leur Dieu, et s'en tenant à la terminologie de la Septante, aient retenu ce titre de préférence à tous les autres à la fois parce qu'il devait frapper les imaginations par sa consonance exotique, donc mystérieuse — et son succès dans la magie s'explique ainsi — et parce qu'il pouvait apparaître comme un nom véritable.

Le rapprochement verbal avec *Sabazios* dès lors allait de soi, et pas seulement dans les milieux sectaires. Le même mécanisme qui, dans ces derniers, a abouti à un syncrétisme cultuel a pu mener des cercles juifs parfaitement orthodoxes à prêcher leur *Kyrios Sabaoth* sous le vocable de *Jupiter Sabazios*. On peut admettre sans aucune invraisemblance que des propagandistes juifs aient utilisé ce procédé pour faire mieux entendre leur message. Si l'on se souvient que la Lettre d'Aristée est probablement antérieure à l'incident relaté par Valère Maxime et que l'œuvre d'Eupolémus l'est vraisemblablement aussi et comme, par conséquent, l'équivalence *Jupiter-Yahvé* était déjà reçue dans certains milieux juifs, la chose devient parfaitement plausible à la date de 139. L'existence d'un *Jupiter* qui était aussi *Sabazios* rendait l'as-

61) A noter aussi l'usage fait de cette appellation par les *Oracles Sibyllins*, I, 304 et 316 (ὁ μέγας Σαβαώθ); 12, 132 (Σαβαώθ Ἀδωνάϊος); 2, 239 (οὐράνιος Σαβαώθ).

simulation au Dieu de la Bible encore plus naturelle et aussi plus probante: en vénérant Jupiter Sabazios, pouvaient dire aux païens les missionnaires juifs, vous êtes déjà des nôtres sans le savoir.

La phrase de Valère Maxime présente en définitive les choses en une sorte de raccourci: ce n'est sans doute pas exactement Jupiter Sabazios que les Juifs veulent annoncer, mais Kyrios Sabaoth sous le masque de Jupiter Sabazios. Cet artifice ne les mettait pas cependant à l'abri des difficultés, car ils se heurtaient de toute façon au conservatisme foncier, teinté de xénophobie, des milieux dirigeants romains sous la République. Ce qui était possible dans le monde hellénistique ne l'était pas encore à Rome. Sabazios, même identifié à Jupiter, était aussi indésirable que les Chaldéens, que Yahvé lui-même et que tous les cultes et croyances issus de l'Orient barbare.

Un dernier point à considérer est l'obligation faite par Vespasien aux Juifs, „en quelque lieu qu'ils habitassent”, de verser l'impôt cultuel du didrachme „au Capitole, à la place de l'offrande qu'ils faisaient auparavant au Temple de Jérusalem”⁶²). Tous les historiens modernes ont admis comme allant de soi qu'il s'agit là d'un affront, réfléchi et cruel: „Contribuer, eux entre tous, aux frais du culte des idoles était, pour la conscience juive, une vexation des plus douloureuse, et les Romains ne l'ignoraient pas”⁶³).

Ce n'est pas là, cependant, la seule interprétation possible. Ce n'est peut-être pas, à y regarder de près, la plus satisfaisante. Que la plupart des Juifs aient ressenti cette mesure comme une brimade, la chose est normale. Que Vespasien l'ait délibérément conçue comme telle est moins sûr. Il a pu, toujours à la faveur de cette identification, admise par certains Juifs, entre le Dieu de la Bible et Jupiter, considérer que le Temple de Sion et celui du Capitole étaient consacrés à une seule et

62) Josèphe, *B.J.* 7, 218: cf. Dion Cassius, 66, 7, Reinach, *Textes*, p. 194. Selon W. Weber, „Eine Gerichtsverhandlung vor Kaiser Trajan”, *Hermes*, 50, 1915, pp. 47-92, il faudrait distinguer entre le *fiscus Judaicus*, payé à la caisse impériale, auxquels les Juifs étaient astreints, après 70, en tant que *dediticii* (cf. le *fiscus Asiaticus*), et l'impôt cultuel versé au temple du Capitole. L'hypothèse est séduisante, même si elle ne s'impose pas.

63) A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'intolérance religieuse et la politique*, Paris, 1924, p. 164. Dans le même sens, entre autres, article *Fiscus* (Rostovzeff) du Pauly-Wissowa, VI, 2405 et tout récemment article *Fiscus Judaicus* de *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, VI, Jérusalem, 1971, 1325.

même divinité et qu'en conséquence, le premier ayant disparu, il était naturel que fût versé dans la caisse du second l'impôt cultuel jusqu'alors envoyé à Jérusalem. Et il n'est pas certain que les réactions juives devant sa décision aient été aussi unanimement hostiles qu'on l'admet généralement.

Il est essentiel de replacer tout d'abord l'épisode du didrachme dans son contexte le plus large. On voit se dessiner dans le monde gréco-romain, aux approches de l'ère chrétienne, relativement aux formes du culte, un courant de pensée qui, même s'il n'y tend pas de propos délibéré, va dans le sens d'un rapprochement avec les position juives. Varron, cité par Saint Augustin, souligne le fait que „les anciens Romains ont, pendant plus de cent-soixante-dix ans, adoré les dieux sans ériger d'idoles; et si cet usage s'était maintenu, ajoute-t-il, leur culte n'en serait que plus pur. Il invoque même, entre les preuves à l'appui de son sentiment, l'exemple de la nation juive" 64).

De la même façon, Strabon, parlant avec éloge de Moïse, „prêtre égyptien dégoûté des institutions de son pays" et suivi, dans l'Exode, par „un grand nombre d'hommes qui honoraient la divinité", déclare qu'il condamnait aussi bien la folie des idoles zoomorphes égyptiennes que l'anthropomorphisme grec. Il lui prête ensuite une curieuse théologie panthéiste: „La divinité, selon lui, n'était pas autre chose que ce qui nous enveloppe, nous, la terre et la mer, savoir ce que nous appelons ciel, monde ou nature". Et il continue, prenant visiblement à son compte les vues qu'il pense être celles de Moïse: „Or quel homme sensé oserait représenter cette divinité par une image faite sur le modèle de l'un de nous? Il fallait donc renoncer à toute fabrication d'idoles et se borner, pour honorer la divinité, à lui dédier une enceinte et un sanctuaire dignes d'elle, sans aucune effigie" 65). Cette religion mosaïque pleine de sagesse a ensuite dégénéré en superstition, s'exprimant dans les observances alimentaires, la circoncision, „et autres coutumes de ce genre". C'est là un schéma de dégradation assez analogue à celui

64) *Cité de Dieu*, 4, 31, 2. Cf. J. Geffcken, „Der Bilderstreit des heidnischen Altertums", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 19 (1916-19), pp. 303 ss.

65) Strabon, 16, 35, Reinach, *Textes*, p. 99. Strabon est ici, semble-t-il, tributaire de Posidonios. Même interprétation panthéiste de la théologie juive chez Hécatee d'Abdère, qui souligne lui aussi l'absence d'images cultuelles dans le judaïsme: Reinach, *Textes*, p. 16. Cf. J. G. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism*, New York, 1972, pp. 38 ss.

que Varron met en rapport, du côté païen, avec l'introduction des idoles. On peut donc légitimement prolonger la ligne de pensée des deux auteurs en disant que si le paganisme et le judaïsme revenaient à la pureté de leurs origines, aucun obstacle ne s'opposerait à une entente, fondée sur la similitude des formes cultuelles et une commune répudiation des idoles. On notera que Plutarque (*Numa* 11) et Tacite (*Annales*, 5, 5) décrivent en termes presque identiques l'un la pratique de la Rome primitive, l'autre celle des Juifs et leur prêtent exactement la même motivation: Dieu ne peut être appréhendé que par l'esprit, et c'est une impiété que de le représenter avec des matières périssables.

Eusèbe se fait l'écho d'une conception analogue à celle de Varron et de Strabon. Il présente l'évolution religieuse de l'humanité comme un enracinement progressif dans l'erreur. Seuls les Hébreux ont eu le privilège, tout au long des siècles, de connaître et de vénérer „le créateur du monde et l'artisan de l'univers”, le Dieu unique. Le reste de l'humanité pratique à l'origine le culte des astres, pour tomber ensuite dans celui d'une foule de divinités anthropomorphes et dans „l'intempérante manie actuelle de multiplier les noms des divinités mâles ou femelles” 66). Par rapport à ces étapes ultérieures du développement, le stade initial représente un moindre mal. Il témoigne de plus de naïveté que de perversion et apparaît comme une quête maladroite de la vérité: „Exclus de cette seule véritable religion” (celle des Hébreux), les hommes, „frappés d'admiration avec leurs yeux de chair comme des âmes enfantines devant les flambeaux du ciel, leur donnèrent le titre de dieux et les honorèrent par des sacrifices et des genuflexions, sans construire de temples ni fabriquer de statues de pierre ou de bois à l'image des mortels, mais en élevant leurs regards vers l'éther ou vers le ciel lui-même et en cherchant par la force de leurs âmes à atteindre ce qui y est visible” 67). Il est vrai qu'on nous explique plus loin que l'absence de temples et de statues tient uniquement au fait que les techniques correspondantes n'avaient pas encore été inventées 68). Mais il ressort clairement de tout le contexte que les progrès réalisés par la suite sur ce plan de la civilisation matérielle s'étaient soldés par un recul sur celui de la religion: un culte sans

66) *Praep. Evang.* I, 9, 15-16.

67) *Praep. Evang.* I, 6, 3.

68) *Praep. Evang.* I, 9, 13.

temple ni statues vaut mieux, même rendu aux astres, que l'idolâtrie vulgaire ⁶⁹).

Cette théologie d'un paganisme spiritualisé allait en quelque sorte à la rencontre du Judaïsme. On la voit reparaître dans l'entourage même de Vespasien au moment de la guerre de Judée. Vespasien, reconnaissant en Josèphe, qui lui a prédit l'empire du vivant même de Néron (*Bell. Jud.* 3, 401), „l'interprète de la voix divine” (*B.J.* 4, 626), reconnaît par là-même que le Dieu juif est un vrai dieu, ou le vrai Dieu. Mais l'oracle du Carmel lui a, lui aussi, promis une brillante destinée (*Tacite, Hist.* 2, 78). Et le dieu du Carmel, Baal indigène identifié à l'époque hellénistique à Zeus, et plus précisément à Zeus Héliopolitain, a cette particularité, soulignée par Tacite, qui insiste ailleurs sur la condamnation juive des images, de n'avoir „ni statue, ni temple, mais seulement un autel et un culte, *ara tantum et reverentia*”. Il est intéressant de noter que Suétone, citant, comme le fait Tacite, cet oracle du Carmel (*Vesp.* 5), cite, aussitôt après, la prédiction de Josèphe, et semble ainsi vouloir, sinon établir un lien précis entre les deux, du moins en souligner le parfait parallélisme, indice d'une même origine céleste.

Le Carmel jouissait d'un prestige égal chez les Juifs et les païens. Une colonie juive y était établie depuis l'époque hasmonéenne ⁷⁰). Et Pythagore, nous dit-on, allait souvent méditer de longues heures sur „cette montagne sainte entre toutes” ⁷¹). Il ne me paraît pas exclu que certains conseillers religieux de Vespasien aient voulu ou espéré faire du Carmel, haut lieu sacré pour les deux religions et théâtre de leurs affrontements passés ⁷²), le site symbolique d'une réconciliation, sur la base d'une théologie harmonisante et d'un culte iconoclaste „en esprit en vérité”, entre tous ceux qui acceptaient l'équation Zeus = Yahvé et reconnaissaient en Vespasien l'envoyé providentiel de ce Dieu suprême.

Tacite et Suétone mentionnent en termes très voisins la croyance selon laquelle l'empire du monde appartiendrait „aux Juifs” d'après

69) Sur cette question du culte sans images dans la pensée gréco-romaine, cf. W. Schmid, „Bilderloser Kult und christliche Intoleranz”, *Mullus (Festschrift Th. Klauser)*, Munster, 1964, pp. 298-315.

70) Josèphe, *Ant. Jud.* 14, 334.

71) Jamblique, *Vie de Pythagore*, 3, 15.

72) Cf. *I Rois*, 18, 20-40.

Tacite, „à des hommes partis de Judée” d’après Suétone ⁷³). Il s’agit là de quelque prophétie messianique: elle est, dit Tacite, consignée dans les anciens livres des prêtres, entendons des prêtres juifs. Mais cette attente paraît avoir dépassé le cadre strictement juif: elle était, selon Suétone, répandue dans tout l’Orient qui, dans la relation qu’en donne Tacite, devait l’emporter sur le reste du monde. Il semble que plusieurs traditions, peut-être déjà mêlées dans la croyance populaire, aient été amalgamées de façon délibérée par la propagande romaine. Il ne fait guère de doute en tout cas que l’insistance mise par les deux historiens latins, comme aussi par Josèphe, à relever toutes les prédictions et prodiges relatifs à Vespasien corresponde à des directives officielles ⁷⁴).

Du côté juif, Tacite et Suétone le soulignent à l’envi, on s’est trompé sur la signification de ces prophéties en les appliquant à Israël même: d’où la révolte de 66. C’est aux yeux des Romains le très grand mérite de Josèphe d’avoir décelé l’erreur de ses compatriotes et montré que les prophéties juives concordaient avec les oracles païens en désignant Vespasien comme le bénéficiaire authentique des promesses célestes. C’est „en récompense de sa prédiction” (*B.J.* 4, 629) que, prisonnier des Romains, et jusqu’alors enchaîné, il est mis en liberté par Vespasien sur intervention de Titus. Ses liens sont non seulement desserrés, mais brisés d’un coup de hache, „procédé dont on use à l’égard de ceux qui ont été injustement mis aux fers”. Josèphe appartient désormais à la maison militaire du chef romain et aussi, par la suite, à l’historiographie officielle. Il est la source où, selon toute apparence, Suétone et Tacite ont puisé l’information relative à la prophétie interprétée à contre sens par les Juifs: „Mais ce qui les avait surtout excités à la guerre, c’était une prophétie ambiguë trouvée dans les Saintes Ecritures et annonçant qu’en ce temps-là un homme de leur pays deviendrait le maître de l’univers. Les Juifs prirent cette prédiction pour eux et beaucoup de leurs sages se trompèrent dans leur interprétation; car l’oracle annonçait en réalité l’empire de Vespasien, proclamé pendant son séjour en Judée” (*B.J.* 6, 312). Il est clair que si les deux historiens païens ont mis en vedette cette prophétie à laquelle Josèphe a

⁷³) *Hist.* 5, 13; *Vesp.* 4.

⁷⁴) Sur les *omina imperii* relatifs à Vespasien, cf. W. Weber, *Josephus und Vespasian*, Berlin, 1921, pp. 44 ss., qui essaie de dégager une *Urquelle* dont se seraient inspirés Josèphe, Suétone et Tacite.

restitué son sens véritable, et si l'un d'eux va jusqu'à nommer l'historien juif, c'est que Vespasien, par conviction ou par calcul, — mieux vaut dire peut-être par conviction et par calcul — lui attribuait effectivement une importance considérable: il n'était pas, note Tacite, „inaccessible à ce genre de superstition" (*Hist.* 2, 78).

On s'est parfois étonné de la position prise en l'occurrence par Josèphe. Ainsi W. Weber: „Identifier le général païen au Messie constitue, on peut le dire, de la part d'un Juif observant, un tour de force" 75). On pourrait ergoter sur l'emploi fait ici du terme Messie. Vespasien, choisi par Dieu pour punir le peuple une fois de plus rebelle, ne correspond pas exactement à l'image classique du Messie, dont la tâche est au contraire de libérer Israël de ses oppresseurs: élection divine et messianité ne sont pas tout à fait synonymes. En fait, l'attitude de Josèphe n'est pas très différente de celle que la tradition juive elle-même a prêtée à rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai; elle n'est donc pas plus scandaleuse du point de vue de l'orthodoxie synagogale. Yohanan, ayant réussi à s'échapper de Jérusalem assiégée et à franchir les lignes romaines caché dans un cercueil, est introduit auprès de Vespasien et lui prédit l'empire 76). Lui aussi s'est clairement désolidarisé sinon de son peuple, du moins de la rébellion, à laquelle il impute sans équivoque, avant de fuir la ville, la responsabilité du désastre qui s'annonce: „Pourquoi", dit-il aux insurgés, reprenant textuellement les propres paroles de Vespasien, „pourquoi détruisez-vous cette ville et pourquoi cherchez-vous à brûler le Temple?" 77). Il est fort intéressant que le courant de pensée le plus authentiquement juif, celui qui prolonge en droite ligne le pharasaïsme, non seulement trouve normal qu'un maître illustre soit en un certain sens passé à l'ennemi, mais revendique pour lui le mérite d'avoir prédit à Vespasien, sur la base de textes bibliques, sa glorieuse destinée. Le „traître" Josèphe n'a rien dit d'autre que ce docteur vénéré, fondateur de l'école de Jabné à laquelle le judaïsme doit d'avoir survécu à la catastrophe. Il y a simplement insisté davantage. Ce que l'opinion juive pouvait lui reprocher, c'est d'avoir milité dans le camp romain; ce n'est pas le

75) *Op. cit.* p. 43.

76) Cf. J. Neusner, *A Life of Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai*, Leyde, 1962, pp. 113 ss., qui donne le texte des différentes versions de cet épisode dans la littérature rabbinique.

77) *Abot de Rabbi Nathan*, 4, Neusner, *op. cit.* p. 115.

fait même de sa prédiction, qui reparait dans la bouche de rabbi Yohanan. Il est bon de s'en souvenir lorsqu'on se préoccupe de porter un jugement sur son comportement d'homme et sa crédibilité d'historien.

Son témoignage, à coup sûr, doit être utilisé avec beaucoup de prudence. Du moins, s'il ne correspond pas toujours exactement à la réalité des faits, il donne la version que les protecteurs impériaux de Josèphe, Vespasien et Titus, souhaitaient voir s'accréditer et à laquelle lui-même espérait rallier ses coreligionnaires dans un ouvrage qui, soumis à une censure préalable et publié avec le „*nihil obstat*” impérial et une estampille officielle, vise à réconcilier vainqueurs et vaincus⁷⁸). Même une fois faite très large, du côté romain, la part de la propagande et, chez Josèphe, celle de l'esprit courtisan, rien n'autorise, compte tenu de tous les indices précédemment relevés dans ce travail, à dénier toute sincérité aux princes et à l'historien juif. La citation que Josèphe fait de la Lettre d'Aristée et la façon dont il présente les mesures prises par Antiochus Epiphane conduisent à penser qu'il souscrit à l'identification proposée entre Zeus et Yahvé. Cette théologie harmonisante est probablement déjà sous-jacente à la *Guerre Juive*. Elle permet de la lire d'un œil moins sévère.

De même que Vespasien y apparaît comme l' élu de Dieu, Titus de son côté se comporte comme le serviteur fervent et l'agent d'exécution d'un Dieu qui est bien celui des Juifs autant que des païens, et Josèphe le présente avec insistance comme tel. Le Temple est livré aux flammes contre le gré de Titus par un soldat que pousse „une sorte d'impulsion surhumaine” (*B.J.* 6, 252). Les vrais responsables de la catastrophe sont les rebelles juifs, dont le geste insensé amène Dieu à renoncer à sa demeure parmi eux. Titus met tout en œuvre pour arrêter le sinistre, et le récit de ses vains efforts se termine par cette phrase: „C'est ainsi que le Temple fut brûlé, malgré César” (*B.J.* 6, 266). Puis, étant entré dans la ville, il en admire les fortifications et constate qu'il n'a pu réduire une telle place forte qu'avec l'appui divin: „C'est bien avec l'aide de Dieu que nous avons combattu; c'est Dieu qui chassa les Juifs de ces forteresses; car que peuvent contre ces tours les mains des hommes ou les machines?” (*B.J.* 6, 411). Du

78) Sur ce caractère officiel de la *Guerre*, Josèphe, *Vita*, 363; W. Weber, *Josephus*, pp. 53 ss.; H. St. John Thackeray, *Josephus, the Man and the Historian*, New York, 1929, p. 27.

côté païen, Philostrate apporte comme un écho à ces paroles. Titus refuse les honneurs que veulent lui décerner après sa victoire „les nations voisines”, car, dit-il, „cet exploit n’était pas son œuvre; il n’avait fait que prêter son bras à la colère manifeste de la divinité (θεω δ’ ὀργήν φήναντι) Ni Josèphe, ni Philostrate n’ont besoin de nommer cette divinité qui est, bien évidemment, la même de part et d’autre. Ayant fait raser la ville, harangué ses soldats et distribué des récompenses aux plus valeureux d’entre eux, „Titus présida aux sacrifices pour remercier le ciel de sa victoire” (*B.J.* 7, 16). Le libellé prouve assez que Josèphe voit là autre chose qu’un geste idolâtre: „le ciel”, c’est ce Dieu que païens et Juifs vénèrent les uns et les autres. Lorsque Vespasien, déjà plébiscité en cours de route, arrive à Rome, on lui fait un accueil enthousiaste. Au milieu de la liesse populaire, les citoyens „prirent Dieu de maintenir le plus longtemps possible Vespasien à la tête de l’Empire” (*B.J.* 7, 73). Mention est faite cependant des sacrifices qu’il offre aux dieux domestiques (*B.J.* 7, 72), puis, au moment du triomphe, aux dieux dont les images sont placées sur la porte triomphale (*B.J.* 7, 131). Ces gestes traditionnels ne semblent pas gêner beaucoup l’historien juif, qui mène le récit du triomphe jusqu’à son terme normal, le temple de Jupiter Capitolin.

Ceux qui, Juifs ou païens, identifiaient Jahvé et Jupiter et qui, autour de Vespasien et Titus, semblent avoir rêvé d’une réconciliation entre les fidèles respectifs des deux divinités, ont peut-être tiré argument d’une coïncidence providentielle, savoir les destructions presque simultanées du temple du Capitole et de celui de Jérusalem. Le premier fut incendié en 69, au cours de la lutte entre les partisans de Vitellius et ceux de Vespasien ⁷⁹⁾, et reconstruit par ce dernier deux ans plus tard ⁸⁰⁾. Dans l’intervalle, le second avait été lui aussi la proie des flammes. Apollonius de Tyane, miraculeusement informé, en Egypte, de l’incendie romain au moment même où il se produit, s’adresse ainsi à Zeus en présence de Vespasien: „O Zeus Capitolin, puisses-tu — car c’est de toi que dépend maintenant le salut — conserver Vespasien et lui garder ta faveur comme il te garde la sienne, car c’est à lui que les destins ont confié le soin de rebâtir sur le mont Capitole le temple qui vient d’être incendié par des mains criminelles” ⁸¹⁾.

79) Tacite, *Hist.* 3, 71; Suétone, *Vitell.* 15; Dion Cassius, 65, 17.

80) Tacite, *Hist.* 4, 53; Suétone, *Vesp.* 8; Dion Cassius, 66, 10.

81) *Vie d’Apollonius de Tyane*, 5, 30.

Josèphe qui mentionne cet incendie, ne parle pas de la reconstruction qui le suivit. Mais il n'est peut-être pas interdit de supposer qu'il l'a présente à l'esprit lorsqu'il écrit, épilogueant sur la destruction du Temple juif: „On déplorera profondément la perte de cet édifice, le plus admirable de tous ceux qu'on ait vus ou entendu vanter . . . ; mais on tirera une très haute consolation en songeant au Destin, dont la puissance s'étend également sur les œuvres d'art, les lieux consacrés et les êtres vivants. On admirera, dans cette fatalité, le rapport exact des temps révolus; elle a observé, comme je l'ai dit, le même mois et le même jour où le Temple avait été, auparavant, incendié par les Babyloniens" (*B.J.* 6, 267)⁸²). Ou bien ce n'est là que rhétorique creuse — ce qu'on ne saurait exclure — ou bien cela signifie que le Temple, „que depuis longtemps Dieu avait condamné au feu" (*B.J.* 6, 249), est maintenant supplanté, au moins pour un temps par un autre de ces „lieux consacrés" auxquels préside le Destin — même formulation que chez Philostrate à propos d'Apollonius; entendons chez Josèphe: la Providence —; et en rebâtissant le sanctuaire du Capitole, Vespasien, „être vivant" mu comme tous les autres par le Destin-Providence, se manifeste une fois encore comme l'instrument de la volonté divine.

C'est là, dira-t-on, lire entre les lignes. Je suis très conscient du caractère hypothétique de cette interprétation. Elle ne me paraît pas, du moins, faire violence à la pensée de Josèphe et tire peut-être une certaine vraisemblance des paroles que celui-ci dit avoir adressées aux assiégés et qui prennent tout leur sens une fois le désastre consommé: „Partout la Fortune s'est prononcée pour eux (les Romains) et Dieu, qui fait passer avec lui l'empire de nation en nation, séjourne maintenant en Italie . . . Je crois donc que Dieu a fui le sanctuaire et réside chez ceux auxquels vous faites maintenant la guerre" (*B.J.* 5, 367 et 5, 412). Il ne s'agit pas ici, selon toute apparence, d'une simple présence divine aux côtés des Romains pendant la guerre, mais bien d'une localisation matérielle précise: la résidence de Dieu „en Italie", ce pourrait bien être le temple du Capitole, que „le Destin" a fait renaître de ses cendres, alors que celui de Jérusalem reste en ruines.

82) Cf. *B.J.*, 6, 250: „La succession des temps amenait le jour fatal, qui fut le dixième du mois de Loos". La tradition juive a placé les deux catastrophes le 9 Ab.

On comprend mieux, si cette perspective est la bonne, la complaisance sans complexes avec laquelle Josèphe relate le triomphe des deux *imperatores*. Certes, les objets du culte juif figurent parmi le butin et Vespasien est particulièrement fier de pouvoir les exhiber (*B.J.* 7, 161). Mais ils sont ensuite consacrés dans le temple, nouvellement construit, de la Paix: geste „irénique”, me semble-t-il, plutôt que provocation⁸³). Si d'autre part Vespasien fait déposer et garder dans son palais, avec les voiles du sanctuaire, „la Loi des Juifs” (*B.J.* 7, 162), n'est-ce pas pour signifier qu'il s'en fait le défenseur plutôt que pour infliger aux Juifs une douloureuse brimade? Rien n'obligeait Josèphe à donner ces détails. S'il le fait, ce n'est certainement pas pour irriter ses coreligionnaires et pour leur présenter Vespasien comme un intenable ennemi⁸⁴). On se souviendra que, contrairement à l'usage, Vespasien et Titus, refusant cette fois de se parer du nom des vaincus, ne voulurent pas du titre de *Judaicus*⁸⁵). Comment interpréter ce refus, sinon comme un geste d'apaisement?

Une fois éclairée par tout ce contexte, l'obligation de verser l'impôt cultuel juif au Capitole est susceptible d'une explication assez différente de celle qui est communément admise et que W. Weber a formulée en termes particulièrement vigoureux: „Yahvé est vaincu par le dieu de l'Empire... Les Juifs sont vaincus, et avec eux leur Dieu, et son vainqueur c'est, tout aussi exclusif que lui, Jupiter Capitolin... Le but poursuivi, c'est la destruction radicale de l'adversaire de Jupiter Capitolin”⁸⁶). Beaucoup de Juifs à coup sûr, voire l'immense majorité

83) On peut rappeler ici qu'une étymologie assez communément reçue interprétait le nom de Jérusalem-Salem comme signifiant la cité de paix (*shalom*). Josèphe cependant n'en fait pas état.

84) Le grief d'antijudaïsme foncier que W. Weber fait à Vespasien ne repose en définitive que sur l'obligation faite aux Juifs de payer l'impôt au Capitole: c'est une base fragile. Vespasien était assez avisé pour éviter de raidir dans une hostilité irréductible les Juifs partout présents dans l'Empire et qui n'avaient pas trempé dans la révolte. La présence de Josèphe, interprète de l'oracle divin, et celle de Bérénice ne pouvaient que lui inspirer la bienveillance envers ces sujets.

85) Dion Cassius, 66, 7, Reinach, *Textes*, p. 195. La portée du geste a dû cependant être affaiblie par la construction de l'arc de Titus.

86) *Josephus*, p. 73; „Eine Gerichtsverhandlung...” p. 64. Weber invoque à l'appui de sa thèse la construction par Hadrien d'Aelia Capitolina. Le parallèle ne me paraît pas probant. Aelia s'implante sur le site même de Jérusalem, interdit par surcroît aux Juifs. C'est une prise de possession brutale de la Terre Sainte et qui creuse le fossé entre les Juifs et les païens. L'agression délibérée semble ici manifeste. Elle ne l'est pas dans la mesure prise par Vespasien.

d'entre eux, l'ont effectivement entendu ainsi. Mais pour les princes comme pour Josèphe il n'y a pas entre Yahvé et Jupiter cette irréductible opposition affirmée par Weber. Une seule et même divinité a inspiré tous ceux, païens et Juifs, qui ont prédit l'empire à Vespasien. C'est elle qui a guidé la stratégie romaine. C'est elle aussi que l'on adore sur le Capitole comme on l'adorait à Jérusalem. Pour qui admet, comme le fait Josèphe, l'identité de Zeus et de Yahvé, il n'y a pas victoire du premier sur le second, mais simplement victoire des légions de Titus sur une rébellion condamnée par Dieu lui-même. En payant l'impôt au Capitole, c'est encore à leur Dieu que les Juifs font hommage.

On conçoit fort bien que Josèphe ait ici suggéré plutôt qu'affirmé. Considéré par beaucoup comme un traître et soucieux avant tout de se justifier, il ne pouvait dire sa pensée très clairement. Et ses frères étaient mal préparés, surtout dans l'humiliation consécutive au désastre palestinien, à partager un point de vue qui, facilement admis par les Gentils cultivés, avait toujours été et restait en Israël celui d'une minorité: même la Lettre d'Aristée avait mis dans la bouche d'un païen et non d'un Juif l'affirmation que Zeus n'est rien d'autre qu'une façon de désigner le Dieu unique. Du moins, si cette théologie très libérale n'a pas réussi à s'imposer officiellement, elle illustre l'intéressant courant de pensée qui, du Pseudo-Aristée à Josèphe en passant par Eupolèmos et même Philon, refuse de ne voir dans le paganisme qu'erreur et perdition et se préoccupe de déceler des affinités plutôt que de formuler des anathèmes.

IS THERE GROUP KARMA IN THERAVĀDA BUDDHISM ?

BY

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As understood by Theravāda Buddhism, the principle of karma¹⁾ is usually conceived as an individual matter. But in this century the question of communal, or group karma was raised in *The Maha Bodhi* by Sheo Narain as early as 1925. In an article entitled "Karmic Law," Narain invites Buddhist scholars to throw light on a number of questions, including whether a person is "responsible not only for his individual actions in his past life but also for past communal deeds. . . ." ²⁾

A number of contemporary sources make indirect response to Narain's problem; but there is little agreement among them over the answer, or even over the precise definition of the concepts involved. Thus it will be the purpose of this paper to analyze some of the contemporary discussion of "group karma", and then to attempt to determine whether there are canonical precedents for such notions.

One of the clearest modern affirmations of group karma is that of the Thai physician, Dr. Luang Suriyabongs:

Although man creates his own individual Karma, whatever he does will have its effect on his environment, too. Thus, he at the same time has a common family-Karma, a racial, or national Karma or a group-Karma. The good he does will not only benefit himself but all others who live with and around him, that is, all sentient beings. And vice versa, evil will not be suffered by himself alone. ³⁾

1) For purposes of this paper, the form "karma" will be used as more common in English, except for reference to specific Pāli texts, or where the Pāli form "*kamma*" is used by authors cited. Research for this paper was supported in part by a grant from the Bowdoin College Humanities Fund.

2) Sheo Narain, "Karmic Law," *The Maha Bodhi*, Vol. XXXIII (April, 1925), pp. 197-198.

3) Luang Suriyabongs, *Buddhism in the Light of Modern Scientific Ideas* (Bangkok: Mahamakuta-Raja-Vidyalya Press, 1954), p. 72.

The emphasis here is not so much on the reward or punishment which ordinarily is considered the necessary fruit (*vipāka*) of any deed, but rather more simply on the direct effects which any action has on others. Dr. Suriyabongs thus extends the concept of karmic effect to include the influence of any action (*karma*) on others besides the actual perpetrator of the deed.

In a different vein, Dr. Suriyabongs elsewhere provides further clarification of his notion of "family karma," and by extension of group karma in general. The relevant passage is in a discussion of the occurrence of multiple births. Noting once again that an individual's karma affects his environment and fellow men in addition to himself, Dr. Suriyabongs concludes that several individuals may have such similar karma that, if they should die about the same time, and if a womb containing a sufficient number of ova is ready, these individuals will be reborn as twins, triplets, etc. The fact that individuals are born into the same family is taken to indicate that they possess a similar store of accumulated karma.⁴⁾ Thus it is possible for Dr. Suriyabongs to speak of "family karma" in a sense analogous to the way in which we might speak of the Kennedy family charisma.⁵⁾

In a booklet entitled simply *Kamma*, Bhikkhu Sīlācāra suggests something of the mechanism through which group *kamma* may be seen to operate—this is through what he speaks of as the "overflow" of *kamma*.⁶⁾ He pictures the world as a fabric woven from the threads of individual *kamma*. No man's *kamma* is isolated, but rather is necessarily interwoven with the kammic threads of other individuals, be they of his family, race, or nation. The power of a great personality overflows. His deeds (*kamma*) affect countless persons. Thus the deeds of such men as Hitler and Alexander the Great on the one hand, or Gandhi and the Buddha on the other, affect the world. To use the latter as an example,

countless millions of beings born in the lands of the East, in India and Ceylon, in China and Japan, in Burma and Siam, in the far-spreading plains of Mongolia, have had their Kamma completely changed for the good

4) Luang Suriyabongs, *Buddhism in the Light of Modern Scientific Ideas*, Revised Edition (Bangkok: Maha Makut's Academy, 1960), pp. 304-306.

5) The analogy is valid only so long as the "Kennedy charisma" is not considered to be genetically inherited.

6) Bhikkhu Sīlācāra, *Kamma (Karma)*, edited by Bhikkhu Kassappa (Colombo: Baudha Sāhitya Sabhā, 1956), pp. 19-21.

through the “overflow Kamma” of Gotama, the Buddha. And that Kamma has not yet exhausted itself. It is still flowing on; and in its flow fertilizing the minds and enriching the hearts of many even today in the spiritually dullard West, who happily are open to receive its influence.⁷⁾

A variant of this notion was expressed in 1918 by the *Sangharāja* (Supreme Patriarch) of Thailand, Prince Vajiranana, in an address to the king of Thailand, in which he declared that “the king’s acts of piety merit not only himself but the people and the guardian spirits of the kingdom” as well.⁸⁾

Overflow kamma of this type does not exist only in the case of the greats among mankind, however. The actions (*kamma*) of each of us affect the world around us to some small degree. Writes Bhikkhu Sīlācāra:

The little thread of Kamma which we call “ours,” is thus not exclusively ours—how can it be, when, in ultimate truth and fact, there is no “us”?—but in its course through the fabric of our national, and our world-Kamma, imparts something of its colouring to its neighboring threads; and if its colours are strong and full, even to many threads far removed from it in the fabric.... We do not live, and cannot live, to ourselves, even if we want to. The many living threads of the so-called individual’s Kamma twine and intertwine with other threads, and change the course and colouring of these other threads for the good or ill, according as our own particular thread is a good or an ill one.⁹⁾

Whether we so intend or not, our *kamma* overflows to influence others, or so Bhikkhu Sīlācāra contends.

This notion leads Bhikkhu Sīlācāra to make two rather unique, and apparently unorthodox assertions relating to *kamma*. First, he maintains that since our actions (*kamma*) affect others whether we will it or not, it must be possible to speak of the unintentional transfer of merit.¹⁰⁾ This is in stark contrast to the position of the Pāli canon where *kamma* is defined in terms of the intentional impulse (*cetanā*), and where the practice of merit transference is virtually ritualized.¹¹⁾ Second, by the same token, Bhikkhu Sīlācāra asserts that overflow *kamma*

7) *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

8) Robert C. Lester, *Theravada Buddhism in Southeast Asia* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1973), p. 77, citing Prince Vajiranana (Wachirayan) in *Right is Right* (Bangkok: Bangkok Daily Mail, 1918).

9) Bhikkhu Sīlācāra, *Kamma (Karma)*, p. 21.

10) *Ibid.*, p. 19.

11) See F(rank) L(ee) Woodward, “The Buddhist Doctrine of Reversible Merit,” *The Buddhist Review* (London), Vol. VI (1914), pp. 40-46.

may result in the transference of demerit.¹²) If possible this notion of the Bhikkhu Silācāra runs even more directly counter to the authoritative Theravāda position. This is seen most clearly through reference to a passage in the highly respected post-canonical *Milindapañha* (*Questions of King Milinda*). At *Miln* 295, Milinda asks the monk Nāgasena whether the fruit of an evil deed, such as a murder, can be transferred to the deceased, and thus escaped. Nāgasena declares that it cannot. When asked why merit can be transferred to the deceased, but evil does not reach them, Nāgasena replies:

"This is not a question which is to be asked, great King. And do not you, great King, thinking he is one who answers (questions), ask what is not to be asked. Next you will be asking me why space is unsupported, why the Ganges doesn't flow backwards from its mouth, and why these men and birds are bipeds, and the animals quadrupeds."

Not to be denied, Milinda presses the point until Nāgasena gives in and answers:

"It is not possible, great King, to share (*saṃvibhajitum*) an evil deed (*pāpam kammaṃ*) with one who has neither done it nor given consent to it.... Evil (*akusalam*), great King is petty (*thokam*); good (*kusalam*) is great. Because of its pettiness, evil affects just the doer. Because of its greatness, good spreads out over the (whole) world together with the deva-world."¹³)

Insofar as he takes it to imply the possibility of the transfer of demerit and of unintentional merit transference, Bhikkhu Silācāra's conception of overflow *kamma* extends beyond the limits of Theravāda orthodoxy. Indeed, to the best of my knowledge, these two extensions of the concept of karma have not been accepted elsewhere. Nonetheless, the mechanism of overflow *kamma* itself as described by Bhikkhu Silācāra seems consistent with one prong of Dr. Suriyabongs' two-pronged interpretation of group karma.

Synthesizing the views of these two men, then, it would seem that group karma can be categorized as either overflow karma on the one hand, or as the karma of family—or group—resemblance, on the other. In either case, it is to be noted, neither the principle of individual responsibility nor of karmic justice is necessarily negated. In the case of overflow karma, the individual does a deed, the reward for which he experiences, while at the same time the deed has its

12) Bhikkhu Silācāra, *Kamma (Karma)*, p. 19.

13) *Miln* 295-296. The text used is *Milindapañho*, edited by V. Trenckner (London: Luzac for the Pali Text Society, 1962. [Reprint of the 1928 edition.]).

effects on others, each of whom is influenced by it as a result of his own individual karmic past. With respect to the karma of family—or other communal—resemblance, it is simply the common aspects in the action of certain individuals which lead them into membership in a group, the communal experiences of which are due to each individual member as a result of his own individual past. To adapt another of Bhikkhu Sīlācāra's images, each individual karmic thread is woven into the fabric of existence so as to make a meaningful pattern of the whole.

Each of these categories of group karma is far removed from the intent of Sheo Narain, for when he speaks of "communal deeds,"¹⁴⁾ he is speaking of the deeds undertaken by a group, rather than of the communal pattern of results accruing because of the interaction of the action of individuals. More nearly akin to what Narain intends by "communal deeds" is what has been termed "state-aided *kamma*",¹⁵⁾ on the one hand, and Egerton Baptist's description of a "type of 'National *karma*'", on the other.

In Burma in the mid 1950's and early 1960's the government participated in various religious activities. On the basis of such participation, Donald Eugene Smith concludes that the occurrence of official attempts at the "manipulation of *kamma* is unmistakable. The official performance of meritorious deeds as a means of improving present conditions in the country was a common device."¹⁶⁾ Among the most dramatic of such deeds was the convening of the Sixth Great Buddhist Council in Rangoon in May, 1954 C.E.

The council's greatest significance was symbolic; it dramatized in unforgettable fashion the government's commitment to the promotion of Buddhism, which was regarded as an essential component of the Burmese national identity. The council was a supreme act of religious merit from which U Nu, members of the government, the Sangha, and ultimately every Burmese Buddhist derived personal *karmic* benefit.¹⁷⁾

According to this Burmese interpretation, communal actions of a meritorious sort reflect credit on the individual citizens. In this sense

14) One might gloss the phrase "communal karma."

15) The term "state-aided *kamma*" is derived from Winston L. King, *In the Hope of Nibbana: An Essay on Theravada Buddhist Ethics* (LaSalle, Illinois: Open Court, 1964), p. 245.

16) Donald Eugene Smith, *Religion and Politics in Burma* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965, p. 168.

17) *Ibid.*, p. 165.

the Burmese situation offers an affirmative response to Narain's question whether the individual is responsible for past communal deeds. He is, insofar as these deeds are meritorious (*kusala*). Although it would seem a logical extension of this belief, it is not clear whether the Burmese would also consider reprehensible actions—unjust acts of war, for example—undertaken as a people equally to reflect on the individual.

Egerton C. Baptist, a Ceylonese lay Buddhist, deals with precisely this issue:

[I]f a body of people or a group of people—the largeness of this group may even constitute the inhabitants of a single country or many countries—get together and perpetrate a wrong, will they as a group, suffer for their evil deed? Though *Kamma* is individual to each being, we cannot overlook the fact that in such circumstances, all the beings involved in the perpetration of the evil deed, have, with common consent, done so of their own freely expressed "volition." Accordingly, they may at some future time, by a conspiracy of circumstances, as it were, be drawn into a pool of anguish and bitterness together, all at once.¹⁸⁾

The assertion that national malfeasance can result in group suffering at some future date for the same people *qua* nation is unambiguous.¹⁹⁾ Baptist has thus formulated a clear-cut concept of national karma.

Yet another approach to the question of national karma is possible, however. In his excellent study *In the Hope of Nibbana*, Winston King refers to a statement by a prominent Burmese Buddhist layman U Tun Hla Oung, who, in a speech calling for an economic system mid-way between capitalism and communism, suggested that the principle of *kamma* needed a state assisted boost in order to perfect its

18) Egerton C. Baptist, *The Buddhist Doctrine of Kamma* (Colombo: n.p., 1972), pp. 32-33. This pamphlet is distributed free by the Mrs. H. M. Gunasena Trust.

19) In support of his concept of national karma, Baptist (*Ibid.*, pp. 35-36) refers to the story of King Viḍūḍabha and that of the Commander-in-Chief Bandhula and his wife Mallikā from the *Dhammapada Commentary*. On these two incidents, see below. Baptist also makes reference in this context (p. 33) to a statement by W. Y. Evans-Wentz in his Public Debates in Sri Lanka during the year 1921, in which he "pointed out how even religions must reap, as religions, what they sow. This he called '*Religious Karma*': 'We see now' he [Dr. Evans-Wentz] said, 'how the whole of Christendom is just beginning to reap the harvest which was sowed in the Dark Ages. Religious Karma will see to it that if a religion has been upheld through the shedding of blood in religious persecution, as in the days of the Inquisition, or if it has propagated itself by the sword, it will be destroyed in like manner.'"

operation in these times. To this end U Tun Hla Oung proposed a just distribution of tax money to aid the poor. King quotes him:

There will be no need to pull the rich down to the level of the poor; his *Kamma* will bring him down to the correct level. But the poor must be helped up and whether he stays put on the higher level or not, despite the fair and just laws, is after all his *Kamma*.²⁰⁾

In this way the living standards of the workers will be improved, while at the same time fair play is assured for the capitalist, U Tun Hla Oung concludes. Behind this suggestion seems to be the notion that the poor are to some extent unjustly handicapped by *kamma*, and must be given a fair chance to rise from their predicament. But in the final analysis, it is the individual's own *kamma* which determines whether the state assist will be effective in any given case. In a strange kind of way, then, the state is seen to provide the mechanism through which individual *kamma* works itself out. This interpretation by an eminent Burmese layman seems to run counter to the more commonly accepted Burmese view, as delineated above, for the latter in no way tends to deny the universal justice of the principle of *kamma* as it operates in the universe.

Just as developments in the Buddhist understanding of karma have often led to controversy in the past,²¹⁾ so too the banner has recently been raised against the notion of group karma. This time the challenger and upholder of tradition was the Therāvada monk Nyanatiloka Mahathera. He maintains that the assumption of a so-called group, joint, or national karma is a wrong application of the term "karma." He writes that according to this erroneous view, a nation, or any group of people for that matter,

should be responsible for the deeds formerly done by this so-called 'same' people. In reality, however, this present people may not consist at all of the karmic heirs of the same individuals who did these bad deeds. According to Buddhism it is of course quite true that anybody who suffers bodily, suffers for his past or present bad deeds. Thus also each of those individuals born within that suffering nation, must, if actually suffering bodily, have

20) Quoted in King, *In the Hope of Nibbana*, p. 245 from U Tun Hla Oung's address presented before the International Association for Religious Freedom in Chicago during August, 1958 (Chicago: Privately printed, 1958), p. 6.

21) The debates relating to *kamma* in the *Kathāvatthu*, and Chap. IV of the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu are particularly relevant. On these, see James P. McDermott, *Developments in the Early Buddhist Concept of Kamma/Karma* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1971), pp. 139-168 and 201-224.

done evil somewhere, here or in one of the innumerable spheres of existence; but he may not have had anything to do with the bad deeds of the so-called nation. We might say that through his evil Karma he was attracted to the miserable condition befitting to him. In short, the term Karma applies, in each instance, only to wholesome and unwholesome volitional activity of the single individual.²²⁾

Nyanatiloka Mahathera's implicit working definition of "group karma" seems based on a different set of assumptions than are the definitions of Dr. Suriyabongs and Bhikkhu Sīlācāra. Unlike these opponents, he believes any notion of group karma to imply a certain continuity of membership within the group. This being the case, individuals who participate in any group activity must also later participate in the experience of the fruits of that activity as members of the very same group. Since the canonical interpretation of the principle of *kamma* clearly recognizes that an individual's family membership, citizenship, and even his membership in the human race are likely to change from rebirth to rebirth, such a continuity cannot be maintained with consistency. On this basis, then, Nyanatiloka Mahathera is forced to deny the possibility of any form of group karma.

It would seem, however, that the notions of group karma such as those accepted by Dr. Suriyabongs and Bhikkhu Sīlācāra can be consistently maintained if the notion of group identity is interpreted in a manner analogous to the Theravāda understanding of individually. To wit: Man, according to the Pāli canon, is made up of five aggregates (*khandha*)—the material body, feelings, perceptions, predispositions, and consciousness. At any given time the individual is but a temporary combination of these aggregates. Indeed, it is erroneous to conceive of any unity behind the elements which comprise the so-called individual. There is nothing which passes from this body to another. Although the name and form which is man ends on death, a new name and form is produced from it as a result of the dead man's deeds which, having been sown, continue to bear fruit. Thus by convention we speak of the individual and his rebirth to refer to the constantly changing pattern of aggregates. By the same token, the notion of group identity is mere convention as well. Group membership is subject to change as radical as that undergone by the aggregates making up the

²²⁾ Nyanatiloka Mahathera, *Karma and Rebirth*, The Wheel Publication No. 9 (Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 1959), p. 17.

so-called individual as he passes from existence to existence. Individuals may become connected with a given family, nation, etc. because of their own individual past actions, without having belonged to the same group in their past lives. Their suffering is not necessarily attributable to the past actions of the group to which they have now become attached. Moreover, morally effective action (karma) may well affect the individual members even after their attachment to the group has been severed, whether within this lifetime, or through death and rebirth. From the foregoing it is to be seen that although Nyanatiloka Mahathera's case against group karma may be sound enough given his own presuppositions, his argument proves inconclusive so far as the claims of Dr. Suriyabongs, Bhikkhu Silācāra, and the like, with their very different interpretations of group dynamics and the concept of group karma are concerned.

To summarize the discussion thus far: In the contemporary literature we have found recognition of three broad categories of what might be termed "group karma." These have been called "overflow karma," "the karma of family (or communal) relationship," and "national" or "state-aided karma." The last of these is of three types: 1) that where the people of a state act in concert, 2) that where the government performs karmically effective action—whether good or evil—on behalf of its people, 3) and that where through its action the state serves as a booster mechanism through which individual karma may work itself out. In addition to those who admit the existence of one or another of these types of group karma, we have also found vocal opposition to the entire range of concepts. In light of such disagreement, it remains to turn to the canonical Pāli literature and the early commentaries to determine whether there is valid precedent for such ideas.

So far as the actual terminology is concerned, the closest canonical equivalent to "group karma" or "communal action" is found in the *Book of Discipline (Vinaya Pitaka)*. There the term "*saṅghakamma*" is used in a specialized ecclesiastical sense to refer to certain formal proceedings, ceremonies, or transactions of a legally constituted chapter of the monastic community.²³) As Sukumar Dutt notes, the institution of *saṅghakamma* provided rules and procedures for the functioning

23) See T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede, *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* (London: Luzac, 1966), s.v. for a list of most important types. See also *Vin* I. 317ff.

of each such chapter as a corporate body. "The system of joint deliberation, the postulation of equality of all members in decision-making on matters of common concern, the rule of majority, the rejection of personal dictation are its outstanding features."²⁴) In all this the *saṅghakamma* is characterized by its formalism.

The meticulous observance of the forms and punctilios of procedure is of the essence of its validity. Disregard, omission or dislocation of even an iota lays the act open to impugment by any member of the Saṅgha and necessitates fresh proceedings *ab initio* The Vinaya in its operation and effect was the positive law of the monk-communities and its administration through Saṅghakamma partakes necessarily of the formalistic character of all archaic law.²⁵)

As used in the *Vinaya*, then, "*saṅghakamma*" is primarily an ecclesiastical rather than an ethical or doctrinal concept. The concern is with the institutional validity and, hence, irreproachability of such transactions, and not with the moral consequences (*kammaripāka*) for the participants. This is to be seen from *Mahāvagga* IX on the validity and invalidity of a saṅghakamma.²⁶) Thus we must seek elsewhere in the Pāli canon for a conceptual equivalent to any of the notions of group karma presented above.

Something of a conceptual counterpart to the idea of overflow karma is to be found in the *Kurudhamma* and the *Maṇicora Jātakas*.²⁷) The *Kurudhamma Jātaka* tells of a kingdom in which no rain fell. Because of the drought, there was famine throughout the land, and a plague was likely to result. These tragic circumstances all existed because the king did not observe the *dhmma* of the Kurus, that is to say, the five precepts against killing, taking what has not been given, lying, living a life of lust, and drinking strong drink. Once the king finally began to follow these five precepts, however, rain fell and the land became prosperous and fertile. The fear of starvation and pesti-

24) Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962), p. 87.

25) *Ibid.*, p. 91.

26) *Vin* I. 312-333. Cf. *VinT* II. 256-285.

27) The *Kurudhamma Jātaka* is No. 276, pp. 356-381 in Vol. II of the edition of V. Fausbøll, *The Jātaka, Together with Its Commentary* (7 vols; London: Trübner & Co., 1877-1897). The *Manicora Jātaka* is No. 194, Fausbøll, Voll. II, pp. 121-124. A standard translation is that edited by E. B. Cowell, *The Jātaka, or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births* (6 vols. in 3; London: Luzac for the Pali Text Society, 1957 reprint of the 1895-1907 edition). In Cowell's translation, the *Kurudhamma* is on pp. 251-260; the *Manicora*, pp. 85-87.

lence was soon allayed. Similarly, in the *Maṇicora Jātaka*, Sakka, the king of the gods, is made to declare: "If, indeed, a king is unrighteous, the sky (deva) sends rain out of season, and does not send rain in season. Fear of famine, fear of disease, fear of sword—these three fears are suffered."²⁸) Although this view is not a common one in the Pāli canon, the position of these two *Jātakas* clearly is that the consequences of the king's acts are felt throughout the realm. As E. Washburn Hopkins has observed, this parallels the view of the *Ma-hābhārata* that the king determines the character of the age, that drought, flood, and plague arise through the fault of the king.²⁹) The similarity between this ancient idea and Bhikkhu Silācāra's concept of overflow *kamma* is readily apparent. In both instances the people must suffer for the misdeeds of their ruler and, in turn, benefit from his morality.

Āṅguttara Nikāya III. 172-173 is most suggestive in its discussion of the results which accrue out of a good man's gifts. Here it is said that if a man gives a gift without hurt to himself or to others, when the gift ripens, never again will he suffer any loss of property from fire, water, thieves, kings, or even impious heirs. The implication seems to be that apart from the effects of counter evil karma, the rewards resulting from one's good works cannot be taken away. Even the power of a king cannot avail to this end. This suggests the recognition that no samsāric stream of existence is completely independent. Although each individual is heir to his deeds alone, the ripening of his karma has consequences that reach beyond himself. It is not necessary, nor even very likely that this notion implies a concept of overflow karma, however. Rather, the point may be simply that in any given situation the karma of each individual must be in confluence with that of every other participant in that situation.

The death of Moggallāna as described in the commentary to *Dhammapada* 137 provides a good illustration of this principle: At the instigation of members of other sects, some highwaymen attempt to kill Moggallāna. Several times he is able to escape by means of his super-human powers. Finally, however, he is held back

²²⁸) Fausbøll, *Jātaka*, No. 194, Vol. II, p. 124.

²⁹) E. Washburn Hopkins, "Modifications of the Karma Doctrine," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, N.S., Vol. XXXVIII (1906), pp. 586-587.

by his previous karma, his powers fail him, and the attack succeeds. The karma of the sectaries and of the highwaymen had to be in confluence with that of Moggallāna before they could injure him, for they are all executed shortly thereafter.³⁰⁾

By the same token, a potential fratricide could be born only into a family with a son who, because of his own past deeds, deserved to be killed by his brother. Moreover, the parents of the men involved in such a case may be said to lose a son because of their own accumulated evil karma. In each example it is not simply a matter of the karma of one individual leading to his own death, but of the confluence of the karma of a number of individuals in a pattern in which the individual karmic rewards are interwoven into a fully consistent design.

As with Bhikkhu Sīlācāra's conception, "the many living threads of the so-called individual's Kamma twine and intertwine with other threads,"³¹⁾ giving the appearance of a kind of group karma. But whereas Bhikkhu Sīlācāra maintains that the threads of individual karma change the course of neighboring threads, the further implication of karmic overflow is lacking here.

In his booklet *The Buddhist Doctrine of Kamma*, Egerton Baptist cites two incidents from the *Dhammapada Commentary* which he finds to give authority to his notion of "national karma." The most convincing of the two is from the story of Viḍūḍabha.³²⁾ As a youth he had been insulted by the Sākiyas, and had sworn an oath to seek revenge. Later, having received the royal insignia and become king, he set out with a large military force intending to kill all the Sākiyas. Aware of the intentions of King Viḍūḍabha, the Buddha seated himself in the shade of a small tree near which the King was sure to pass. Coming upon the Buddha there, Viḍūḍabha concluded that the enlightened one had come to protect his clansmen. So paying homage to the Buddha, Viḍūḍabha temporarily abandoned his malevolent plans. But his grudge soon got the better of Viḍūḍabha once again, and he set out once more, only to turn back on encountering the Buddha a

30) This account is translated in full in Henry Clark Warren, *Buddhism in Translations* (New York: Atheneum, 1968 reprint of 1896 edition), pp. 222-226.

31) Bhikkhu Sīlācāra, *Kamma (Karma)*, pp. 20-21. See also above.

32) *DhA* I. 337-361, translated in Eugene Watson Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vols. XXVIII-XXX (3 vols; London: Luzac for the Pali Text Society, 1966 reprint of 1821 edition), Vol. II, pp. 30-46. See Baptist, *Buddhist Doctrine of Kamma*, pp. 35-36.

second time. He went and turned back yet a third time. But on the King's fourth attempt, the Buddha considered the evil done by his own kinsmen, and recognizing that it was no longer possible to avert the consequences of their poisoning of a river in a former existence, refrained from going to their aid again. Because of their religious scruples, the Sākiyas offered Viḍḍabha and his retinue only token resistance, and were massacred. Somewhat later Viḍḍabha and his retinue were themselves destroyed *en masse* after camping in the dry bed of a river which flooded during the night.

The multitude began to discuss the incident. "The slaying of the Sākiyas was unjust. It was not right to say, 'The Sākiyas must be killed,' and to smite them and kill them." The Teacher heard the discussion and said, "Monks, if you regard only this present existence it was indeed unjust that the Sākiyas should die in such wise. What they received, however, was entirely just, considering the sin they committed in a previous state of existence." "What was the sin they committed in a previous state of existence, Reverend Sir?" "In a previous state of existence they conspired together and threw poison into the river." ³³⁾

In this instance it seems most proper to speak of "national" or "group karma," since the group has been karmically reconstituted to pay for its past communal misdeeds.

The story of Viḍḍabha takes on added significance as a precedent for a later concept of group karma because of its early popularity, evidenced by its existence in four different versions: 1) the Pāli version contained in the story of the present of the *Bhaddasāla Jātaka*, as well as the *Viḍḍabhavatthu* of the *Dhammapada Commentary*; 2) a Sanskrit version in the *Virūḍhaka Story* of the *Avadānakalpalatā*; 3) a Chinese version recorded by Hsuan Tsang; and 4) a Tibetan version. In addition to the textual traditions, the story of Viḍḍabha is depicted in one of the carvings at Barhut. ³⁴⁾

The second proof text cited by Egerton Baptist in support of a principle of national karma is far less satisfactory. It too is from the *Viḍḍabhavatthu* of the *Dhammapada Commentary*, and concerns the Commander-in-Chief of King Pasenadi's army and his thirty-two sons. As a result of false charges brought against the Commander-in-Chief, Bandhula, and his offspring, the thirty-three men are murdered. After

33) *DhA* I. 360, trans. Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*. Vol. II, pp. 45-46.

34) For a description of the Barhut scene, as well as a discussion of the four textual variants, see Benimadhab Barua, *Barhut: Book I - Stone as Story-Teller* (Calcutta: Indian Research Institute, 1934), pp. 50-51.

the news of the murder has been brought to Mallikā, Bandhula's wife, she addresses the wives of her sons, assuring them: "Your husbands were free from guilt and have merely reaped the fruit of misdeeds in previous states of existence. Grieve not, nor lament. Cherish no resentment against the king." ³⁵⁾

To be sure, Bandhula and his thirty-two sons here suffer the same end together because of their past karma, but there is nothing in the passage to suggest that this is anything other than the fruition of personal misdeeds of each individual member of the group. To read into this or similar accounts a developed concept of national karma is to go beyond what is even implicitly warranted by the text. Nonetheless, the fact that Egerton Baptist cites this as an example of national karma is significant, for it points to the shaky character of the foundations on which any case for a classical precedent for a concept of group karma must be built.

Although isolated cases analogous to what we have termed overflow karma, the karma of communal relationship, and national karma are to be found in the *Tipiṭaka* and early commentaries, their nature and infrequency in this literature make it clear that a systematic concept of group karma was in no sense operative in early Therāvada. Instead, the repeated emphasis in the canonical discussions of karma is on the individual as heir to his own deeds. It is only in this century, then, that one finds a conscious effort to split with this tradition.

35) *DhA* I. 355, trans. Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, Vol. II, p. 42. See Baptist, *Buddhist Doctrine of Kamma*, p. 36.

OFFERING, SACRIFICE AND GIFT

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In this paper ¹⁾ I call an offering any act of presenting something to a supernatural being, a sacrifice an offering accompanied by the ritual killing of the object of the offering. This definition does not permit the use of the term sacrifice for killing rituals (a term introduced by Jensen, 1951) that are neither preceded nor followed by the presentation of the object of the rite to a supernatural being.

Among the distinctive features of offering and sacrifice I do not include their sacred nature, considered to be their most essential characteristic by Hubert and Mauss, the authors of the *Essai sur la Nature et la Fonction sociale du Sacrifice* (1899). Founding their argument on data derived from Hebrew and Vedic sources, they concluded that the confrontation with the sacred is the awe-inspiring heart and core of the sacrificial act. However, the authors of these sources were native theologians, representing the views held by a priestly elite caste in a fairly highly developed society. Modern ethnographic research in simpler societies gives evidence that here the victims of a sacrifice are relatively rarely held to be sacred. Under certain circumstances they may, indeed, be tabooed but the rule is that these victims are primarily appreciated as meat. Even the parts more specifically dedicated to the gods are so little sacred that sometimes the children are condoned to snatch up the (mostly small) portions set aside for divine use. The sacred nature of the victim is too accidental a feature to be used as the foundation for the construction of a theory on the origin and development of sacrifice. To that end we have to turn to that general characteristic that sacrifice and offering have in common, that of being gifts. It is all the more desirable to concentrate on this common feature

¹⁾ Originally read at the 13th Congress of the Int. Association for the History of Religions, Lancaster, August 1975.

because a sacrifice is not necessarily a more deeply religious ceremony than an offering. Some of the really elaborate East Indonesian sacrifices are more typically social than religious affairs as is well borne out by their markedly potlatch-like character. Reversely, an offering can be a highly impressive religious ceremony without including a sacrifice. Quite a variety of Balinese temple feasts do not include any form of ritual killing, the decorated dishes (the meat included) being prepared at home, afterwards to be carried by the assembled villagers in a colourful ceremonial procession to the temple where they devoutly place the offerings at the foot of one of the shrines, to be dedicated by the priest who, on a raised platform, says his prayers and *mantras* and rings his bell. Of course, the combination of the rite with a killing ceremony may add to the grandeur of the event but, when all is said and done, the possibility to stage such a killing ceremony is not primarily a matter of greater religious devotion, but of wealth, a form of ceremony that only livestock-breeding peoples can afford. Apart from human beings the only animals that let themselves be sacrificed, i.e. killed on the spot chosen for the celebration, are domestic animals. The ritual killing of game is necessarily restricted to very exceptional circumstances and occasions.

The problem is whether this emphasis on the gift-character of offering and sacrifice can help us anyway better to understand their meaning. It has been tried before with decidedly poor results, such as the interpretation of offerings as implements in a cunning game of *do-ut-des* with deities and ancestors dull enough to let themselves occasionally be cheated by the presentation of small titbits, or even of symbolic gifts such as that of a chicken for a real bull. However, such interpretations do not derive from undue stress on the fact that offerings are gifts, but from a fundamental misconception of the proper nature of the gift.

The confusion started with Tylor's definition of sacrifice (to him synonymous with offering): "As prayer is a request made to a deity as if we here a man, so sacrifice is a gift made to a deity as if he were a man. The human types of both may be studied unchanged in social life to this day. The suppliant who bows before his chief, laying a gift at his feet and making his humble petition, displays the anthropomorphic model and origin at once of sacrifice and prayer" (1871 II p. 375). The metaphor is thoroughly misleading, as appears when

Tylor's human types are transposed to more modern conditions. The suppliant then changes into the petitioner standing, not before a chief, but before the window-countre of the licence-office, underhand pushing a banknote across the desk to the clerk whom he wishes to hand him the licence he desires. Tylor's human types did not offer a gift, but a bribe. His *do-ut-des* theory of sacrifice is its necessary consequence. The bribe is given to induce the deities to go out of their way to meet the 'suppliant's' desires. To ensure this the offering must be substantial, and if it is not (as in the case of a titbit or a symbolic offering) Tylor accuses the sacrificer of cheating. Of course he does; having founded his notions of gift and sacrifice on corruption, he has to persist to the very end.

Tylor's theory of sacrifice has been rejected (and rightly so) on the ground that it is incompatible with the spirit and meaning of religion. Unfortunately, Tylor's adversaries did not find fault with Tylor's notion of the gift but with the gift as such. Even the appearance in 1924 of Marcel Mauss's *Essai sur le Don* failed to lead to more than at best a partial reappraisal of the gift as the founding notion of offering and sacrifice. Typical in this respect is the position taken by Van der Leeuw in his *Phaenomenologie der Religion* (§ 50). Admitting that an offering is a gift, he emphasizes the 'magical' effect of the gift and thus succeeds in combining some aspects of the gift as described by Mauss with old concepts borrowed from the *do-ut-des* theory and more recent notions stressing the magical and mystical implications of sacrifice and offering. The theory is too much a mixture of everything to be convincing, but we cannot blame Van der Leeuw for stressing the magical aspects. It was Mauss himself who had kept him on this track.

The problem underlying the *Essai sur le Don* is the Durkheimian problem of the origin of the moral obligation faithfully to fulfil one's part in a contractual agreement. Historically the gift is older than the contract from which it differs primarily by the absence of any explicit agreement stipulating the nature, time or form of the return gift. Gift and return gift are not the free and voluntary acts they seem to be. There are no really free gifts. The analysis undertaken by Mauss disclosed that the gift involves three distinct obligations, those to give, to accept (one cannot refuse a gift) and to reciprocate. The obligation to reciprocate, the gift has in common with the contract, and it is to

this aspect of the gift that Mauss paid specific attention. Why reciprocity? Although he did not formulate a comprehensive theory (the *Essai* is primarily a phenomenological description and analysis) he did make a few suggestions, the most important among them being that something pertaining to the personality of the giver adheres to the object given away as a present, inducing the receiver to give something in return. A case in point is the Maori belief that a sizable gift has a *hau*, a kind of mana, compelling the donee to reciprocate lest the *hau* make him fall ill and die (Mauss 1950 pp. 158 f.).

It is evident that this Maori belief simply reflects the compulsive power of the obligation as experienced by a Maori. It is a secondary interpretation of the obligation without any explanatory value because reciprocity is as strictly mandatory where such beliefs are unknown (cf. also Cl. Lévi-Strauss in Mauss 1950 p. XXXIX). To Van der Leeuw, however, the belief was precisely what suited his own preferences for 'magical' explanations and encouraged him to apply them in his theory of sacrifice.

Mauss had still another problem, one that he did not solve but that he analyzed beautifully. The reciprocity of the gift is anything but mechanical. It is deeply affected by status differences between exchange partners. The superior gives more than the inferior. A man of low status who gives lavishly is braggish, a rich man who fails in magnificence is mean. Therefore the return gift of the man of low status is small, of a man of high status big. This has important implications on the practice of sacrifice and offering. The sacrificer is by definition always the lesser of the deities whom he offers his gift. His offering is, naturally, small, and Mauss dryly remarks: "Car ces dieux qui donnent et rendent sont là pour donner une grande chose à la place d'une petite" (1950 p. 169). Mauss did not comment any further on matters of sacrifice and so his remark did not get the attention it deserves. Yet, it once and for all disproved Tylor's disdainful comments on small offerings. Offerings are small naturally, and the real problem of sacrifice is not the small but the big offering. We shall have to return to this later; for the moment our concern is primarily with the absence of a theory explaining the characteristics of the gift. Mauss raised the problems without solving them.

A major problem of the gift is that of the inconsistencies of its reciprocity. Reciprocity itself had been recognized as a principle of

universal significance even before Mauss. Malinowski expounded its importance for all forms of exchange in his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* in 1922. In 1926 he gave further substance to the thesis that reciprocity is a principle of universal validity by applying it to the rules of civil and penal law (*Crime and Custom in Savage Society*). Later (1949) Lévi-Strauss called reciprocity one of the fundamental structures of the human mind (1967 p. 98), a principle always and everywhere spontaneously recognized and applied in social institutions. Yet, the stronger the stress on reciprocity as a principle of universal validity, the more urgent the problems created by deviating institutions and customs. An absorbing discussion of the ins and outs of disbalanced reciprocity was presented by Marshall Sahlins in his essay *On the Sociology of Primitive Exchange* (1965). It is not only that reciprocity is sometimes unbalanced as in gift-exchange between partners of unequal status, but reciprocity can also be muddled, unclear, a principle held in latency as a weapon in reserve against persons who fail to comply with reasonable expectations. Muddled reciprocity prevails in the give-and-take characterizing the interaction between members of the small group. Here every member contributes to capacity, the strong and the clever producing the bulk of the group's material necessities, whereas the weak and the infirm have little more to offer than their good intentions. Up to an extent the relation is of a similar nature as that between high-status and low-status givers, but it differs in that it is perfectly informal. However, though reciprocity is not explicitly mentioned, it is not forgotten. It is implicit. When a member fails to cooperate to the degree he is expected to do, he will immediately be reminded of the rule of reciprocity and its implications.

I shall not enter into a discussion of the theoretical explanations forwarded by Sahlins and others. A major weakness of all of them is the lack of distinction between the diverging forms of exchange, an astonishing omission because some of the differences are so obvious. To give an example: the reciprocity obligatory in gift-exchange is not protected by law, but the obligations incurred in contracts and trade agreements are. Or another example: a gift must be accepted but a commercial offer not. Considerations of this kind induced me to a renewed review of the relevant facts by grouping them into two pairs of opposites, *viz.* gift-exchange versus trade, and punishment versus revenge, the latter in connection with reciprocity in succ. penal and

civil law. The results concerning gift-exchange and trade I summarized in the following table (from Van Baal 1975 p. 50):

TRADE	GIFT-EXCHANGE
Traders functionally each other's equals	Participants not always equals
Social relations weak, exhausted by completed exchange	Social relations strong, strengthened by completed exchange
Aims at the other one's goods	Aims at the other one's person
Goods exchanged often lowly valued	Goods exchanged often highly valued
Strict reciprocity, balanced	Reciprocity not always balanced
No obligation to trade or to accept an offer	Obligation to give and to accept a gift
Contracts (trade-relations) protected by law	Gift-exchange not protected by law
Trade does not bind participants	Gifts bind, turn participants into partners

With regard to punishment and revenge I note that both involve a harm inflicted on the wrongdoer, but inflicted for radically different purposes. A punishment aims at restoring the delinquent to his proper place in the group by his atonement and his acceptance of the harm delivered to him. To the contrary revenge sees at the personal satisfaction and the restoration of the damaged status of the delinquent's victim by the severance and denial of social ties between the parties concerned. Punishment and revenge have in common that they normally are incommensurate to the crime but they are this in different ways. In punishment reciprocity tends to be muddled, less severe than a strict balance requires. In revenge it is clearly disbalanced. A thrashing must be repaid with a superior return-gift of blows to restore the initial victim's status.²⁾ In general, revenge sees at the elimination of the delinquent, punishment at his person and its salvation for society. This is why, in penal law-suits, the administering of justice tends to be characterized by muddled reciprocity, whereas in the settlement of civil law-suits dealing with goods and material interests, reciprocity is carefully balanced. The parallelism (mostly a parallelism in reverse) between these differences and some of those between gift-exchange and trade, is striking.

2) A special form of revenge is capital punishment. Formally it is not a punishment because it does not begin with its execution, but ends with it. And materially it aims at the convict's elimination from society (cf. Van Baal 1975 pp. 58 ff.).

The principal difference between the two categories of exchange of goods is that in gift-exchange participants aim at the other one's person, in trade at the other one's goods. The gift holds a message to the donee, that of 'I, donor, regard you as a partner, appreciate you as a friend, as one who belongs to us.' The gift transfers this message not with empty words but with the unshakable factuality of its material presence. Thus the gift is an answer to the fundamental problem of the human condition, that of man's uncertainty about himself as a part of his universe from which, as a subject, he differs and is perennially separate.

In *Symbols for communication* I argued that the dialectics of the human condition, the combination of being a part and yet a subject, a subject and yet a part of one's universe, make communication an urgent necessity, a communication however, that is not merely an exchange of messages, but a communication which implies that whole world of feeling that conveys the comforting awareness of the reality of one's participation and 'Zuhausesein', being at home, in one's universe. I shall not repeat the argument and confine myself to stating that the gift has the power to persuade a homesick waif or a suspicious soul that he is counted in, that he belongs to the group. Who could refuse a gift or fail to reciprocate? The gift is a godsend.

In all this there is no magic at all and yet it explains a lot. It even explains why the gift can be misused and taken advantage of for selfish purposes. The gift is an attractive and persuasive form for establishing contacts and ameliorating relations. It can be used to persuade a donee to do things he would not think of doing otherwise. We then speak of a bribe. Another misuse is the distribution of gifts as a means to enhance one's status, a possibility exploited in the Kwakiutl potlatch to such an extreme that in some cases gift-giving is turned into a form of controlled warfare instead of a friendly game. All this should not divert us from appreciating what and how a gift really is.

The gift is directed at the other one's person. Consequently, the latter's status and accidental circumstances must be taken account of. The gifts presented to a man in mourning differ from those given to a bridegroom. The gift must be adapted to social conditions. When there is a feast or a public crisis ostentatious giving is called for, but when things are running smoothly, as usually is the case in the small

group that is a closely knit unit, it takes the unobtrusive form of a purely informal give-and-take with no other book-keeping of everyone's contributions than the sincerity of his intentions. It is the intentions that count in actions directed at the other one's person.

The many forms of offering and sacrifice could, like those of the gift, be grouped in ostentatious and unobtrusive forms. More meaningful, however, is a classification according to differences in religious situation by discerning between low-intensity and high-intensity rites. I owe the use of this distinction to the courtesy of Mr. J. G. Platvoet of the Theological Faculty of Utrecht University who introduced it in an inedited paper in which he opposed low-intensity communication to high-intensity communication. Low-intensity communication, he argued, is the ideal form for man's relations with the supernatural. When things run smoothly and anxiety is absent, simple rites suffice to keep up good relations with the gods, inspiring confidence in the persistence of their benevolence and protection. To the contrary, when misfortune or disaster persuade the faithful that there is something wrong with these relations, other rites are called for, those of the high-intensity type.

The opposition as introduced by Mr. Platvoet is, of course, not an absolute one, but it certainly is meaningful. It paves the way to due attention to what is so often neglected in our discipline, the religious practice of the simple faithful who is just pious without problems or fuss. One might call it routine piety provided it be understood that this routine is a mark of its sincerity. It is not a mean thing that, in some cultures, in every household on every day a minuscule gift of food is set aside on the simple house-shrine dedicated to the ancestors. Elsewhere such customs are restricted to special occasions like festive meals or the first dish of the beans or corn of the new harvest. When beer has been brewed a few drops are spilled or a small gourd is set aside under thanksgiving. The offerer does not mind who ultimately eats or drinks his offering. What counts is that he expresses his faith in the nearness of his gods and ancestors who, because of this nearness, must be remembered as co-residents of the compound. Our western culture is a word-culture. Accordingly the material sharing of food has been reduced to the thanksgiving of saying grace. Yet, it serves the same purpose, the inner realization of the Lord's comforting

presence. The impact of a food offering is best illustrated by a remarkable custom of an Australian people, the Murngin, as little given to praying and offering as any Australian tribe. Celebrating their rites for the dead, they publicly take a meal of which nothing is set aside for the deceased with the explicit aim that his spirit will understand that he does no longer belong to the circle of the living and has to leave (Warner 1957 p. 417). Sharing food is communicating.

Among the low-intensity rites we must include the sacrifices and offerings made on the occasion of ostentatious, potlatch-like celebrations like those for the inauguration of a new subclan or the commemoration of a deceased chief in East Indonesia. When the Ngad'a of Flores celebrate such a feast scores of buffaloes are slaughtered after having been presented ceremonially to the gods (for a summary see Van Baal 1971 pp. 250-258). It is a great social event because all the meat must be distributed among the numerous guests, the share allotted to the gods and ancestors being really minimal, a detail rationalized on the eastern part of the island by stating that what little is to us, is much to the gods and reversely (Arndt 1951 pp. 2, 18, 106). The guests display greater interest in the distribution of the meat than in the religious part of the ceremony. Yet, the ancestors are not really ignored. Actually, they participate in every aspect of Ngad'a life. They all have their sanctuaries in the village, where the dead are buried in the stone walls separating the terraces on which, in these mountain-villages, the houses are built. Every house has its special niches where the forefathers of the inmates abide and where they receive small food offerings every time there is a festive dish. These small offerings are brought without any ceremonial. We even do not know whether the bringer of the food addresses the ancestors or that he just puts the food down at the intended place. But an official ceremony like an inauguration calls for an official invocation. One of the interesting features of such an invocation is the emphasis on the desirability of the presence, the nearness even, of gods and ancestors. They are invited to descend to accept the beasts that shall be sacrificed in their honour, but also to sit on their people's shoulders and necks and to protect them like a stone wall against disaster and sickness.

The address to the gods invariably includes a prayer for health, prosperity and a long life. Although such prayers are common enough, the combination with an offering should surprise us for the simple

reason that it is bad form for the donor of a gift to request anything in return, let alone to specify his desires. This deviation from the ordinary pattern of gift-giving is all the more conspicuous because on a feast of this size and magnificence there is not the slightest reason to pray for prosperity. The whole feast is a demonstration of the feast-giver's undoubted prosperity. If ever there is a wrong moment to ask for it, it is on this day of abundance. And yet they pray for it as well as for many other things about which the assembled merry-makers do not visibly worry. What makes it all the more interesting is that this is not a specifically Ngad'a ideosyncrasy: sacrifices are attended by prayers everywhere, whether there is reason for praying or not. An interesting parallel is presented by the custom of Protestant Christians to say grace before meals. Though dimly aware that a thanksgiving is a poor occasion for asking favours, they strongly feel that irrespective of all rational considerations something ought to be requested anyhow. They decide to ask for a blessing. Nobody knows exactly what this stands for, and this apparently makes it easier to pray for it.

The irrationality of the usage cautions us not to look for its basic motivations in the aims overtly and consciously pursued, i.e. in the things prayed for, but in the structure of the prayer situation as such. It is the address of a man offering something to his god, a discourse between two beings separated by the maximal status difference imaginable. *Vis-à-vis* the almighty humility is called for, not merely in words but in deeds as well. Requesting is both the most simple and the most decisive act of self-humiliation, the recognition at once of the requestant's dependence and of the addressee's power. Confronted to his god, asking is the most effective confession of a man's belief and worship. What cannot be done when offering a gift to a fellow-man, asking for something, must be done when offering a gift to a god. To do otherwise would be braggish. And this is where a gift differs from an offering.

All this is pertinent to low-intensity situations in which the relations between a man and his gods are normal and need nothing more or else than being kept up. Such relations are akin to those prevailing in the small and closely knit group with its continuous give-and-take, where intentions count more and better than the physical contributions made by each member individually. The offerings made in this situation are vehicles of intentions. Everyone knows that, just like

everyone knows that the gods do not really eat the offerings presented to them, but that the mice and the ants do, or, as the case may be, the children. No one minds; the giving is a symbolic act of communication and so is the disappearance of the food a symbol of the participation of the gods and credulously ascribed to their acceptance. It is the symbol that counts. It is all very simple and there is no question of magic. The notion that offering and sacrifice are sacral acts hardly plays a role. Even in Hebrew religion, where the holiness of the Lord and everything pertaining to him is so strongly emphasized in the priestly precepts, the sacrifices of which the main part goes to the sacrificer are less sacred than the others. Some of them (the offering for a vow and the voluntary offering mentioned in Lev. 7) may even be eaten on the day after the sacrifice, an exceptional latitude in this purity ridden complex of regulations.

The picture changes as soon as situations present themselves requiring action for high-intensity communication: illness, epidemics, calamities or mortal sin. The means applied may include sacrifice and offering, but the *schema* of gift-exchange is affected by other considerations to such an extent that it has to give way to wholly different forms such as those pertinent to penitence and expiation, or to communication with the gods by identification with their mythical activities. The sacrificial rituals that must answer the requirements of high-intensity situations are of such extreme diversity that I must confine myself to a few cases to illustrate my point, beginning with those in which the *schema* of the gift is dominant and then turning to those in which it has lost its relevance.

My first case is that of the payment of vows. Vows are made in prayers sent up by a barren woman desiring a child, by a family for the recovery of a sick father or son, by a dismissed official for a new job, etc. If the prayer is heard a sacrifice shall be brought at a certain sanctuary on the day appointed for such occasions. The procedure followed at the sanctuary is a perfectly normal one. The beast is presented to the deity whom thanks are brought for his benevolence. Then the victim is slaughtered, the meat divided among the guests, and a small portion set aside for the deity if this is thought to be proper at all (it can fail to turn up, for example, if the blood flowing away is regarded as the divine share). The celebration is a feast where gratitude and merriness prevail. Yet, it is also a payment. Vows must

be paid and woe befalls him who fails to do so. But it is a payment of a peculiar nature. Although the vow resembles a condition in a contract, it differs from a contractual condition in that it does not oblige the other party to the deliverance of any good, but only the maker of the vow. The deity remains perfectly free to hear or not to hear the suppliant. The latter binds only himself. The stage set by the vow is that the fulfilment of the prayer shall be seen as a gift, a completely free gift of the deity. If that gift be made then, of course, the beneficiary owes a countergift, the countergift stipulated in the vow. The reciprocity of the gift is binding. That the whole procedure is defined by the *schema* of the gift is confirmed by the fact that feelings of gratitude define the spiritual atmosphere of the celebration.

A more or less comparable case is that of the sacrifice brought for a sick man whose illness is ascribed to the wrath of neglected ancestors who did not receive all the sacrifices that a wise man should make on their behalf. The ancestors are nearby, often even inmates of the house, and the rules of the gift imply the obligation to give, primarily to those who are kinsmen. The negligence of the obligation has to be made good by a bigger gift than usual. The *do-ut-des* of the transaction that must lead to the patient's recovery is not contrary to the *schema* of the gift anyway. The same holds true of sacrifices brought for the reconciliation of injuries committed against living persons, injuries discovered since the delinquent fell ill. Reparations are made and social bonds restored. Payments, indeed, but payments made in the form of gifts with deities or ancestors as the ever present participants in the celebration. Again, the prevalence of the *schema* of the gift is evident. It is confirmed by the fact that the victim of the sacrifice is cut up and the meat distributed among those present, as usual. It is neither sacred nor taboo.

A sacrifice for the expiation of mortal sin is completely different. The relevant procedure has been elaborately discussed by Hubert and Mauss. The scene is wellknown: the sinner puts his hand on the victim's back to express his intrinsic relation with the beast, and then, after the dedication, follows the complete destruction of the animal by fire. The victim is God's, i.e. it is sacred. It is also the bearer of the sacrificer's impurity and sin which are taken away by its destruction. That the victim is the vehicle of the sinner's impurity is highlighted by the sacrifice brought on the Day of Atonement: one goat

is burned, the other brought to the desert and set free. It is the goat for Azazel (Lev. 16 : 10), carrying the people's impurity with it, just like the bird set free for the recovered leper (Lev. 14 : 5 ff.) takes the latter's impurity with it. In both cases the priest explicitly transfers the impurity to the beast by symbolic acts.

Although there is not the slightest doubt that after their consecration the victims, whether burned or set free, are sacred, it is fully justified to doubt the wisdom of stressing this sacredness too much, i.e. beyond its function of being a symbol of the proper meaning of the ritual. In other words, I object against a reification of the symbolic content by interpreting it as a magical act. It is a misjudgement of the fundamental meaning of the expiatory sacrifice as an act of atonement, an act ruled not by magic but by the *schema* of the punishment, namely, a public confession combined with the suffering of a penalty which make the confessor acceptable to return to his place in society and in the normal relationships between gods and men. Earlier in this paper I referred to certain parallels between the *schema* of the gift and that of punishment. They explain why a sacrifice, more often a form of the gift, can be used also as a form of punishment. Because a punishment it is: the public confession of a sin but also the loss of a precious article of wealth that is not used for any good but for destruction, the destruction of its owner's guilt.

Expiatory sacrifices are reported from many parts. In East Indonesia, where holocausts are rare, the Southern Toradja will bring one in case a man has committed incest with his sister or a full cousin. It is a mortal sin that makes the land hot so that prolonged drought must be feared. A buffalo is dedicated to the supreme being by the priest who addresses the god with his face turned westward (the ordinary posture is eastward). The beast is then killed and cut into pieces that are burned. In one part of the area the offender himself must tether the beast and address the god while holding the rope with his hand. The act of atonement and the punishment are clear. Yet, in this case there is more to it than this alone. Just like the sin has cosmic consequences, making the land hot, so has the holocaust. The smoke-clouds that go up from the burning sacrifice will in time turn into rain-clouds that cool the earth.³⁾

3) I thank Dr. Hetty Nooy-Palm for this information.

Two things are here combined. On the one hand sin, punishment and atonement, and on the other hand the belief that human acts can have cosmic consequences. The belief makes part of a worldview to which the visible things hold a mystery of their own by which they are more than they are or seem to be. Although to the Toradja the supreme being is the ultimate source and ruler of all hidden powers, human beings have a responsibility and power of their own. One may call this magic but I think that mystic knowledge is a better word, doing more justice to the notions of reverence inherently implied, as well as to the fact that this belief refers to another form of communication with the universe, *viz.* that by symbolic identification.

Expiatory sacrifices are not always holocausts. The Nuer of the East African Sudan have other ways to deal with serious cases of incest. An ox, dedicated by a priest, is killed and divided from nose to tail into two halves, one for the priests, the other for the sacrificer and his family who will consume the meat of their half. But the blood is for God and they closely observe that it runs away into the soil because it carries the delinquent's sin with it and makes for complete atonement and purification. Up to an extent the sacrificer is identical with the victim; before it is killed he rubs its back with ashes, expressing their togetherness (Evans-Pritchard 1956 pp. 189, 216, 298). The identification of a man and his ox is a recurrent theme in Nuer culture. In a sacrifice as here discussed it takes mystic dimensions in the identification of the sacrificer's sin with the victim's blood, and in the bisection of the carcass. If one prefers that term, one might call it magic, provided it be recognized that the act is primarily one of punishment and atonement: a public confession of sin and the loss of a highly valued animal, at the very least of the half of it that goes to the priests. That the punishment is not harder than this is because the Nuer do not condemn incest as severely as the Toradja do.

The Nuer celebrate holocausts for other purposes. When there is impending danger of pest or murrain they 'go out to meet it.' They slaughter a number of oxen in the bush where the carcasses are left behind 'as a wall'. The sacrifice is made to God, but the dead beasts are left to the evil spirits of illness. They may not be touched by anyone and the idea seems to be "that the evil has entered them through the sacrificial act" (Evans-Pritchard 1956 p. 220). The magical effect of the rite is obvious; something dedicated to God must stop the

peril. The 'wall' of dead beasts has a power derived from the sacrifice, in part perhaps also from the notion that oxen are so near to man. In fact, this holocaust is a deed of despair. The Nuer are a cattle loving people and nothing but the gravest danger can persuade them to part with their oxen in this manner. It is impossible to classify this holocaust either as a gift or as a penitence. There are some elements of penitence in it, but certainly not of the gift. Yet, if penitence has suggested the form, it still has a distinct character, that of coming to terms with evil spirits who must be propitiated by a desperate act that comes nearer to a bribe than anything.

We noted in passing that cattle are so near to man. As a matter of fact, cattle are extremely inviting vehicles for identification, primarily for identification with man, but also for identification with the gods. Cattle are wealth, the most important item of wealth among many peoples. They are tended with care and devotion. Among cattle breeders strong feelings of togetherness between a man and his beasts prevail. An interesting case is that of the Ngad'a of Flores. They hold the view that *Déva*, the supreme being, herds mankind like the Ngad'a herd their buffaloes. Next to *Déva* there are a host of minor *déva*, particularisations of the great one. Father Arndt noted a statement to the effect that, when the *déva* above kill a buffalo a man dies on earth, and when the people on earth slaughter a buffalo a *déva* dies in heaven. The statement as such is no more than an intriguing case of pious speculation; it has no effect whatsoever on ritual. But the close relation between *déva*, man, and buffalo also finds expression in myth. All three are associated symbolically with the moon, and in a few myths a *déva* appears in the shape of a buffalo (Van Baal 1971 p. 252).

From here it is only one step to the identification of the sacrificed buffalo with the deity. The point of interest is that this step is not taken, not by the Ngad'a, not by the Nuer, nor by any of the Indonesian and African cattle breeding peoples I know of. As I did not make special enquiries into this matter, it would be rash to say that it does not occur at all. The possibility lying so near at hand, it would be surprising if it did not do somewhere. Nevertheless, the probability of an identification of victim and deity is considerably smaller than it must seem in the light of theories such as those by Frazer or by Hubert and Mauss on the god-victim of the agrarian sacrifice. These sacrifices, symbolizing the death of the corn-mother or the revival of

the tree-spirit, derive from a radically different climate of religious thinking than the sacrifices associated with gift-exchange or with penalty and atonement. The proper content of the agrarian sacrifice is the re-enactment of the divine drama of death and resurrection, of life borne by death. The drama of the gods is the drama of nature as well as that of the main means of subsistence, the corn. Is is also the drama of mankind. Re-enacting its major events the actors identify themselves with the gods like the Australian aborigines do when they repeat the deeds of their ancestors by having these dream-time beings personified by men who are held to be physically their reincarnations. They thus give shape to the mysterious intentions that are the hidden essence of visible reality, identifying themselves with them, and through them with that whole world of mysterious intentions that is the secret essence of their universe. Communication with that universe is realized by acts of identification with the ancestors, the incarnations of its mystery, by direct participation in the mythical events and divine deeds. It is a form of communication that differs fundamentally from the person-to-person type of communication through discourse or the exchange of gifts between man and his gods.

The sacrifice of the god-victim is an effort at communication through identification. In this climate of thinking the question arises whether the victim should not more properly be a man than a beast symbolizing the god. In Mexico a thoroughly pessimistic worldview inspired a violent realism that found its fulfilment in the most diverse forms of human sacrifice. To many historians of religion the barbarism of the New World forms of sacrifice held a corroborant of the veridity of the numerous accounts of comparable atrocities committed in the ancient civilizations of the Old World. I must raise a *caveat* here. Modern anthropological research suggests that the proper secret of many secret rituals is not the supposedly esoteric meaning of the ritual, but, contrariwise, the technique how to operationalize this esoteric meaning. A good case is that of the Marind-anim of South New Guinea (West-Irian). One section of the tribe periodically celebrated an initiation ritual called *ezam-uzum*, husband-wife. Before the beginning of the rites a contraption was constructed consisting of a long tree-trunk, resting on the ground with one end, and with the other at man's height on a simple scaffolding. Toward the end of the rites all the neophytes had to copulate one after another with a certain

girl lying on a mat under the elevated end of the trunk. While the last of the neophytes was doing his duty the scaffolding was suddenly torn down, and the trunk crashed the copulating pair who were roasted and eaten. Obviously, they personified *ezam* and *uzum*, and a more convincing case of eating the deity is hardly imaginable. Later research confirmed the truth of the construction of the elevated tree-trunk and also that at a certain moment the scaffolding was torn down, but not of the story of the copulating pair. All that was crashed were two coconuts, roughly decorated as a man's and a woman's head, and this did not even happen under the tree but a little way off. The story of the pair killed under the tree is the story told to the non-initiated. That it contains esoteric truth is confirmed by the more elaborate initiation rituals of the coastal divisions of the tribe. There, too, stories were told about a pair or a woman killed and eaten at the end of the rites. These stories were veritable myths giving significant information on the cosmological meaning of the rites. The non-initiated were allowed to know them, but not how the death of the deities concerned was operationalized by means of a perfectly innocent symbolism (cf. Van Baal 1966 pp. 540 f., Ch. X, XI).

There is ample reason to keep this in mind when studying ancient records of human sacrifice. These sacrifices might have occurred less frequently than these records suggest. But I shall not enter deeper into this. Instead, another question must be raised. Are we really justified to call these rituals sacrifices? If they go combined with an offering or a dedication to a deity, we certainly are, but not if this element is lacking and the ritual is confined to the re-enactment of a mythical drama. In that case we had better use a more appropriate term, either the one of drama, or the term once proposed by Jensen, that of killing ritual (1951). I have no preferences in this matter, but I do object against the use of the term sacrifice for rituals in which every element of the gift or of atonement is utterly absent. Giving is important, far more important than our theories thus far have been willing to recognize, erroneously substituting bribing for giving.

True giving is participating, participating in the life and work of the donee, participating in one's universe as a sympathizing member. No one can participate without giving first. Giving is essential for a meaningful existence. The simple food-offering set aside for the gods, the clumsy prayer before meals, and the give-and-take character-

istic of mutual care in the small group, are the most real and effective means of communication, cementing togetherness and confirming security. All communication begins with giving, offering.

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NOTES ON SACRED KINGSHIP IN CENTRAL ASIA

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During the last two decades, we have seen the publication of many important works illuminating the religious conceptions and spiritual universe of the pastoral peoples in Central Asia. Of these, three deserve our special attention. In 1949, Leonardo Olschki attempted to decipher the mythical imagery of felt, the "coarse and poor material, which probably represents a first step in the history of early craftsmanship."¹) Mircea Eliade published his celebrated work on shamanism in 1951, enabling us to understand the meaning and structure of shamanism as a religious phenomenon in the general history of religions.²) Several years later, Jean-Paul Roux elucidated a motif of the heavenly origin of kingship in Central Asia by using a series of the Orkhon inscriptions.³) With the aid of these brilliant works, supplemented by other studies, it seems that we are now able to clarify and delineate the shamanistic structure of kingship in Central Asian history. For some time I have been engaged in collecting and analyzing the symbolism of the felt carpet, as it was used for the celebration of the enthronement ceremony. In this paper I would like to discuss the symbolism of the felt carpet with special reference to both shamanism and sacred kingship.

To simplify our research, we may start with the Eastern Turks

1) L. Olschki, *The Myth of Felt* (Berkeley, 1949), p. 47. I would like to thank Prof. Mircea Eliade for his kindness in drawing my attention to this excellent work.

2) M. Eliade, *Le Chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l'extase* (Paris, 1951). The revised, enlarged edition of *Le Chamanisme* appeared in English as *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, trans. by W. R. Trask (New York, 1964). I shall use this edition for quotation. Cf. also his "Recent Works on Shamanism," *History of Religions*, I, No. 1 (1961), 152-86.

3) J.-P. Roux, "L'Origine céleste de la souveraineté dans les inscriptions paléo-turques de Mongolie et de Sibérie," *La Regalità Sacra/The Sacral Kingship* (Leiden, 1959), pp. 231-41.

(T'u-chüeh) who dominated the Mongolian steppes for some two centuries from A.D. 552-744.⁴⁾ After discussing some of their folkways, the *Chou Shu*, Bk. 50, reports of the strange rituals performed when a new king, Khagan, was to accede to the royal throne:

Wenn ein neuer Herrscher gewählt wurde, trugen ihn die hohen Würdenträger aus seiner nächsten Umgebung in einer Filzdecke und drehten ihn dann der Sonne folgend (?) neunmal. Bei jeder Drehung verbeugten sich alle seine Untertanen vor ihm. Nach den (Drehung und) Verbeugungen halfen sie dem Oberhäuptling aufs Pferd und liessen ihn reiten. Daraufhin würgten sie ihn mit einem seidenen Tuch so, dass er gerade noch am Leben blieb. Dann lösten sie die Binde und fragten ihn hastig: "Wieviele Jahre wirst du unser Khagan sein?" Da der Khagan benommen war, konnte er die Zeitdauer nicht deutlich sagen. Darauf schlossen sie aus den Worten, die er (verworren) dabei ausgestossen hatte, auf Amtsdauer.⁵⁾

This text is then followed by a series of reports concerning the ranks, arms, penal laws, and funerals among the Eastern Turks.

Since the reports located before and after the information on the enthronement ceremony can be taken as authentic, we may suppose that the text in question is historically reliable and deserves our serious consideration. What is particularly striking in this mysterious story is the following motifs which are directly related with our subject matter: (1) the dialogue between the Khagan *in a perturbed state of mind* and his subjects; (2) the symbolic action of *turning round after the sun nine times*; and (3) the use of the *felt carpet*.

What interests us, in the first place, is the image of the Khagan who, *in a perturbed state of mind*, reveals to his subjects how many years he will rule his nation as king. To suggest our conclusion first, he reminds us of the shaman who, engaged in prophecy and divination in a state of ecstasy, transmits the will of the supernatural being to the people around him. As Professor Masao Mori rightly says, what the *Chou Shu* calls a "perturbed state of mind" is probably a Chinese way of referring to the unconscious and ecstatic state of mind, into which the new Khagan has fallen. According to this document, before the Khagan reveals the number of years he expects to rule, or, more precisely, before the heavenly divine being announces, through the

4) On the history of the Eastern Turks, see René Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes* (4th edition, Paris, 1960), pp. 124ff.; Denis Sinor, "The Historical Role of the Turk Empire," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, I (1953), 427-34. Cf. also Masao Mori, *Kodai Toruko minzokushi kenkyū*, I (Tokyo, 1967), especially pp. 3ff., 94ff.; Namio Egami, *Kiba minzoku kokka* (Tokyo, 1967), pp. 78ff.

5) Liu Mau-tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken* ("Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen," X, Wiesbaden, 1958), p. 8.

mouth of the new Khagan, how many years he is permitted to rule, his subjects throttle him by a piece of silken cloth almost to the point of strangulation. It is highly probable that they dared the throttling to help him fall into ecstasy as fast as possible. 6) This interpretation may be supported by the following information from the Samoyed:

After these preliminaries, the wizard (i.e. shaman) firmly tied round his neck a rope of reindeer skin four feet long, and gave the ends of it to two men who stood at the sides of the seat. When they had covered the shaman with a long garment, the Samoyeds who held the ends of the rope began to pull it in opposite directions. 7)

This information leads us to the supposition that the Eastern Turks believed the period the new Khagan was to rule as king should be determined by the will of the celestial being speaking through the mouth of the Khagan who, in a perturbed, namely, unconscious and ecstatic state of mind, functioned as a shaman.

The shamanic image of the Khagan is further confirmed by an interesting story on the Eastern Turks preserved in the *Chou Shu*, Bk. 50:

Nach dem Tode des No-tu-lu sollte einer der Söhne von den zehn Müttern zum Nachfolger gewählt werden. So versammelten sie sich unter einem grossen Baum und verabredeten, dass derjenige, der am höchsten am Baum emporspringen könne, Oberhaupt würde. Der Sohn von der geborenen A-shi-na war zwar noch jung, aber er sprang am höchsten. So machten ihn die anderen Söhne zu ihrem Oberhaupt. Er nannte sich nun A-hien Schad. 8)

We may be able to understand this story by taking into account the prominent role the tree plays in the shamanic ceremonies of Central and North Asia. Especially, when the famous Altaic horse sacrifice is observed for the Supreme Being Bai Ülgän, the shaman climbs up a tree, that is, he ascends symbolically to the highest heaven. 9) What

6) Cf. M. Mori, "Yūboku kokka ni okeru 'ōken shinju' to yū kangaye: Tokketsu minzoku no bawai" (*Rekishigaku Kenkyū*, No 133, 1948, pp. 22-34), p. 25, and his *Yūboku kiba minzoku kokka* (Tokyo, 1967), p. 89; Liu Mau-tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken*, pp. 459-60.

7) V. M. Mikhailowski, "Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia" (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXIV, 1894, pp. 62-100, 126-58), p. 140.

8) Liu, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, p. 6.

9) Wilhelm Radloff, *Aus Sibirien: lose Blätter aus dem Tagebuche eines reisenden Linguisten*, II (2 vols. in 1, Leipzig, 1884), pp. 20ff.; V. M. Mikhailowski, "Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia," pp. 74-78; Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker* (FF Communications No. 125, Helsinki, 1938), pp. 553-56; Wilhelm Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee: eine historisch-kritische und positive Studie*, IX (Münster, 1949), pp. 278-341; M. Eliade, *Shamanism*, pp. 190-200.

particularly interests us is Mikhailowski's account of the shaman's tree climbing: "The more powerful the *kam* is, the higher he mounts in the celestial regions; there are some, but few, who can soar to the tenth, eleventh, twelfth and even higher."¹⁰) This account of the shaman's tree climbing seems to be morphologically related with the Eastern Turkic episode, which tells that "whosoever shall jump the highest up toward the tree shall be proclaimed chieftain." Let us also recall the fact that in the shaman's initiation ceremony he is required to "climb up the birch and, from the summit of the *jurta*, to call upon the gods and his kinsmen, the dead shamans."¹¹)

Concerning the *turning round after the sun nine times*, it is reported that the Khagan's high officials carried him on a felt carpet and, according to Liu Mau-tsai's rendering, "drehten ihn dann der Sonne folgend (?) neunmal." Liu believes that turning round of the felt carpet must have been done very quickly in order to throw him into the increasingly perturbed state of mind,¹²) but he frankly confesses his difficulty of properly understanding the phrase *following the sun*: "How it was carried out in those days cannot unfortunately be clarified by the few suggestive words. One might assume that turning round must have been done, like the sun, from east to west, from right to left."¹³) Similarly, Professor Peter A. Boodberg renders: "in the direction of the sun's movement."¹⁴) Opposing himself to these interpretations, Mori has offered his own view that the Khagan facing east, on the felt carpet, turned round clockwise from east to south, and from south to west.¹⁵)

Concerning the purpose of the clockwise turning, differing theses have been proposed by Professor Shōei Mishina and Liu Mau-tsai. According to Mishina, the new Khagan is symbolically united with the sun to be born anew as the child of the sun.¹⁶) His opinion has been accepted by Mori,¹⁷) but Liu has offered an alternative (though

10) Mikhailowski, "Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia," p. 77.

11) *Ibid.*, p. 90.

12) Liu, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, p. 496, n. 46.

13) *Ibid.*

14) P. A. Boodberg, "Marginalia to the Histories of the Northern Dynasties" (*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, IV, 1939, pp. 230-83), p. 245.

15) Mori, *Kodai Toruko minzokushi kenkyū*, I, pp. 477-93, especially 486ff.

16) S. Mishina, *Shinwa to bunka kyōiki* (Kyoto, 1948), pp. 248-49.

17) Mori, "Yūboku kokka ni okeru 'ōken shinju' to yū kangaye: Tokketsu minzoku no bawai," p. 33, n. 31, and his *Yūboku kiba minzoku kokka*, p. 96.

he is not always committed to his own proposal): "The ritual has the intention of helping the new Khagan fall into trance as fast as possible." 18) We are not sure which of the two is nearer the truth, but it seems highly possible that the ritual is closely associated with the solar cult predominant among pastoral peoples of Central and North Asia. 19)

Why is it that the Khagan turns round *nine times* with the felt carpet? We suggest that nine turns symbolize the king's ascent through the nine heavenly zones, for the scenario is very closely associated with a part of the shaman's initiation ceremony. Among the Buryat of Balagansk, for example:

Zunächst wird der junge Schamane auf einer Filzmatte neunmal in der Sonnenrichtung um neun in einer Reihe aufgestellte Birken getragen, dann klettert er auf den ersten Baum zur Rechten, danach auf die acht anderen Birken, wobei er jeden Baum beim Emporklettern neunmal umkreist. 20)

Let us recapitulate: (1) the future shaman, seated on a felt carpet, is carried exactly *nine times* round the birches; (2) he turns round *in the direction of the sun's movement*; and (3) he climbs each of the birches and makes on each of them *nine turns* while climbing. Nine turns symbolize, of course, the shaman's ascent to nine heavens. 21) We are so struck by the morphological similarities between the two that we cannot think of the Khagan's making nine turns without associating it with the future shaman's nine turns round the birches on a felt carpet. Let us simply confirm the following point: The shamanic image of the Khagan has emerged once again.

Finally, on the use of the *felt carpet*. The practice of felt making has a long history in Eurasia. Berthold Laufer holds that it was restricted to this region, and that it originated among pastoral peoples

18) Liu, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, p. 496, n. 46.

19) Gustav Ränk, "Einige Bemerkungen über die traditionelle Solarorientierung bei den Nomadenbewohnungen Asiens" (*Ethnos*, XIV, 1949, pp. 149-59). Cf. also Mishina, *Shinwa to bunka kyōiki*, pp. 247-52; Mori, *Kodai Toruko minzokushi kenkyū*, I, pp. 485ff.

20) Uno Harva (Holmberg), *Der Baum des Lebens* (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, ser. B, XVI, Helsinki, 1922-23), p. 139. Cf. also W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, X (1952), 410ff.; M. Eliade, *Shamanism*, pp. 119-20.

21) Cf. Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen*, p. 493.

of Central Asia, ²²⁾ possibly among Iranians. ²³⁾ His opinion has been confirmed by recent archeological findings in the Altai region. For example, the tombs at Pazyryk, in which beautiful felt carpets of different colors and designs have been found, ²⁴⁾ can be traced back as early as the middle of the first millennium B.C. ²⁵⁾

It is highly probable that the meaning of the felt carpet is eventually derived from the shaman's initiation ceremony in Central and North Asia. The essential features of the initiation ceremony among the Buryat have been summarized by Mikhailowski: ²⁶⁾ (1) the shaman anoints himself with the blood of the sacrificed kid, on the head, eyes, and ears; ²⁷⁾ (2) he is carried on a felt carpet; and (3) he climbs up the birch and, from the summit of the tent, calls upon the gods and kinsmen, the dead shamans. ²⁸⁾ Of these features, the second one calls for our special attention: The shaman is carried on a felt carpet.

According to G. N. Potanin, the most important of all the initiation rites among the Buryat is the *elevation* of the shaman. That is, the candidate is placed on a felt carpet, carried by four shamans, raised up high, and carried to the nine trees for the celestial journey. At a tree nearest him he jumps up from the felt carpet to the tree, climbing to the top where he rapidly makes three turns around the tree. He

22) B. Laufer, "The Early History of Felt" (*American Anthropologist*, XXXII, 1930, pp. 1-18), pp. 1-3, 13.

23) "All the tribes belonging to this great Iranian family were active and energetic producers of felt, and it may even well be the case that they were the initiators of the technique. Certain it is that woven rugs and carpets were first produced in their midst, and as in my estimation carpet-weaving sprang up after and as a consequence of felt rugs, it stands to reason that it was Iranians who invented the manufacture of felt." (Laufer, "The Early History of Felt," p. 9.)

24) Cf. Seigei I. Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia: The Pazyryk Burials of Iron Age Horsemen*, trans. and with a preface by M. W. Thompson (London, 1970), illus. 147, 148, 149, 154, 173.

25) *Ibid.*, pp. 293ff.

26) Mikhailowski, "Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia," pp. 89-90. Cf. also Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen*, pp. 487-98; Eliade, *Shamanism*, pp. 115-22.

27) On some resemblances to certain ceremonies of the Mithraic mysteries, cf. Harva, *Der Baum des Lebens*, pp. 140ff.; *Die religiösen Vorstellungen*, pp. 496ff.; Eliade, *Shamanism*, pp. 121-22.

28) On this symbolism of ascent, cf. Eliade, *Shamanism*.

repeats the same from one tree to the other until when he has finished he jumps down from the last tree to the felt carpet. ²⁹⁾

This information is extremely interesting for several reasons: (1) the striking role played by the felt carpet; (2) the shaman's jumping from the felt carpet to the nearest tree, the fact which reminds us of the Eastern Turkic tradition that whosoever shall jump the highest up towards the tree shall be proclaimed chieftain; and (3) his making of three turns on top of the tree.

Similarly, N. N. Agapitov and M. N. Khangalov have given us the following information on the shamanic rites among the Buryat of Balagansk: The candidate, seated on a felt carpet, is carried nine times around the birches in the direction of the sun's movement. Then he climbs each of the nine trees, making nine turns while climbing each tree. ³⁰⁾

Now it is certain that the felt carpet plays an essential part in the shamanic initiation ceremony. The felt carpet may be understood as the *sacred place* from which the candidate starts his heavenly journey and descends from heaven as an entirely new being, i.e. the shaman.

According to Potanin, the felt carpet alluded to by Agapitoff and Khangaloff provides the means of performing what is considered the most essential part of the ceremony. The novice is carried on it, by the four shamans mentioned, out of the *yurta* to the row of nine birches. Of the moment of his elevation on the carpet, they say *bo begde*, 'the shaman ascends.' On reaching the birches, the shaman must leap from the carpet on to one of them, which he climbs. From the top of this birch he must jump to that of the one next to it, and so on to the end of the row, whence he must return in the same manner to his starting-point, and is then again placed on the carpet. After this ceremony the new shaman begins to shamanize, to foretell the future, and to heal the sick. ³¹⁾

In this sense, the felt carpet is charged with the shamanic initiatory symbolism of death and rebirth. He dies to his old earthly being, and is born anew as a supernatural being originating from heaven. This ceremonial use of the felt carpet in the shamanic initiation ceremony sheds a bright light on our understanding of the felt carpet, as it was frequently used in the enthronement ceremony among pastoral peoples of Central and North Asia. The morphological resemblances between

²⁹⁾ Potanin, quoted in Harva, *Der Baum des Lebens*, p. 139, and his *Die religiösen Vorstellungen*, p. 494.

³⁰⁾ Agapitov and Khangalov, quoted in Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen*, p. 494.

³¹⁾ M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia* (London, 1914), p. 189, n. 1.

the shaman's felt rite and the king's felt rite of accession are so remarkable that we are inclined to believe in the shamanic origin of sacred kingship in Central and North Asia. Be that as it may, it seems certain that just as the shaman is born on the felt carpet, so the future king is born on it and becomes a supremely important medium between heaven and earth.

It is well known that the felt carpet was frequently used in the enthronement ceremony of the pastoral empires in Central and North Asia. It was, for example, used among the T'o-pa Wei (Taghbach), the Turkic or Mongolian people called Hsien-pi who established the first pastoral kingdom (the Northern Wei dynasty) in Chinese history (A.D. 386-535).³²⁾ According to the *Pei Shih*, Bk. 5, the enthronement ceremony for T'o-pa Hsiu, the tenth emperor of the Northern Wei dynasty, was celebrated on the thirteenth day of the sixth month, 528. Seven men, presumably high officials, held up (literally, "were covered by") a black felt on which the new emperor, facing west, made obeisance to heaven. Following the ceremony, the emperor proceeded into the city of Loyang where he received at the palace, in the customary Chinese fashion, the congratulations of the court.³³⁾ Laufer indicates that the ceremony is an old custom of the nomads of Central Asia,³⁴⁾ while Boodberg maintains that it can be traced back to the fifth and fourth centuries A.D., prior to the removal of the capital to Loyang in 494.³⁵⁾

In the Khitan state of Liao (907-1125),³⁶⁾ too, the enthronement ceremony had as part of its scenario the elevation of the new emperor on a felt carpet.

According to the *Liao Shih*, Bk. 49, for the ceremony an auspicious day was selected. Before this date a hall and a platform for the "fire-wood investiture" were set up. For the construction of the platform,

32) On the history of the T'o-pa Wei, cf. Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, pp. 103ff.; Egami, *Kiba minzoku kokka*, pp. 116ff.

33) Boodberg, "Marginalia to the Histories of the Northern Dynasties," pp. 242, 245-46. Cf. also Laufer, "The Early History of Felt," pp. 4-5; Olschki, *The Myth of Felt*, pp. 28-29; Mori, *Yūboku kiba minzoku kokka*, p. 99.

34) Laufer, "The Early History of Felt," p. 5.

35) Boodberg, "Marginalia to the Histories of the Northern Dynasties," p. 242, n. 60.

36) On the history of the Liao dynasty, cf. Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, pp. 180ff., and especially Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-Shêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao, 907-1125* (New York, 1949), pp. 619ff.

firewood was piled up high,³⁷⁾ logs were made into three layers, and the altar was placed on top of it. This was covered by a carpet a hundred feet long, and by square cushions decorated with dragons. The emperor then entered the "rebirth building" and performed the "rebirth ceremony."

The details of the "rebirth ceremony" are not given in the *Liao Shih*, Bk. 49, however; they are narrated in Bk. 53: The emperor enters the building and takes off his clothes and shoes. Followed by a boy, he passes thrice under the V-shaped timbers. At each passage an old midwife recites some words and strokes the emperor's body. When the boy goes through the V-shaped timbers for the seventh time, the emperor lies down by the timbers. An old man strikes the quiver and shouts: "A boy is born." Then the head shaman covers the emperor's head. The emperor stands up, takes some swaddling clothes, and receives the most auspicious name.

When he has finished, (according to Bk. 49,) the elders of the eight tribes guide him to the northeastern corner of the hall where he is invested. After worshipping the sun, he mounts a horse. The oldest men among the imperial maternal relatives are chosen to be his grooms. The emperor gallops off and falls. The grooms and followers cover him with a felt rug.³⁸⁾ When the emperor reaches an elevated place, the high officials and tribal leaders marshal the ceremonial equipment and make obeisance to him from a distance. After that, he accepts to become emperor and gives a feast for the courtiers.

The following day, the emperor comes out from the investiture hall and is escorted to the platform by the grand guardian of the imperial bodyguard. This is the firewood investiture ceremony in a strict sense. The ancestral tablets (according to the Chinese custom) are placed on the square cushions decorated with dragons. The high officials

37) The burning of firewood was originally part of the enthronement ceremony (Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao, 907-1125*, p. 239, n. 12). The intention was, certainly, to announce to heaven the accession to the imperial throne (*Liao Shih*, Bk. 1). In the course of time, however, "the announcement by fire was abandoned, but the pile of wood and the old name were retained." (*Op. cit.*, p. 223.) Hence it was called the "firewood investiture ceremony."

38) Wittfogel and Fêng recognize in this a survival of an old inner Asiatic practice. Cf. *History of Chinese Society: Liao, 907-1125*, p. 274, n. 189. They pay special attention to a resemblance to an Eastern Turkic ceremony, in which a new Khagan mounts a horse and is choked so severely that he almost suffocates.

then stand in a circle, each grasps the felt rug on which the emperor is seated, and raises it high while pronouncing a eulogy. ³⁹⁾

Despite some Chinese influences, the Khitan enthronement ceremony is fascinating for three reasons: (1) the rebirth ceremony; (2) the ritual of worshipping the sun; and (3) the rite of the felt carpet. The ritual of passing through the V-shaped timbers is undoubtedly a symbolic enactment of man's birth from the mother's womb, because the "rebirth ceremony" is characterized by the nude emperor, the symbolic presence of an old midwife, an old man announcing the birth of a boy, and the presentation to the emperor of swaddling clothes and the new name. With respect to worshipping of the sun, our text is so brief that we hardly understand its exact meaning, but it is probably associated with the solar cult predominant in Central and North Asia. As far as the rite of the felt carpet is concerned, we are struck by the fundamental resemblances between this Khitan ceremony and those of the T'o-pa Wei and the Eastern Turks. The basic morphological similarities between the three rites are beyond doubt: Among the T'o-pa Wei seven dignitaries hold up a black felt on which the new ruler is seated, while among the Eastern Turks high officials lift the new Khagan on a felt carpet and turn it round nine times in the direction of the sun's movement.

Similarly, the Armenian prince Hayton (= Hethum) has left us some highly valuable information on the ceremonial use of the felt carpet in the Mongolian enthronement ceremony. Judging from his familiarity with the Mongolian dynastic tradition based on his first-hand experience, there is no room to doubt that Genghis Khan in his accession was lifted on a rug of black felt supported by seven chiefs. ⁴⁰⁾

So it was that the seven chiefs mentioned above assembled the Tartar people and made them pledge obedience and bow to Canguis, and they did the same as to their natural lord.

After this, the Tartars erected a seat in the middle of them, spread out a black felt on the earth, and made Canguis sit on it. And the chiefs of

39) Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao, 907-1125*, pp. 273-75. Cf. also Matsuo Otagi, *Kittan kodaishi no kenkyû* (Kyoto, 1959), pp. 55-58; Mori, *Yûboku kiba minzoku kokka*, pp. 97-99.

40) Olschki, *The Myth of Felt*, pp. 22-23; Mori, *Yûboku kiba minzoku kokka*, p. 100. Laufer ("The Early History of Felt," p. 14) reports of a rug of white felt on which Genghis Khan was seated.

the seven nations lifted him with the felt, placed him on the seat, and named him Can; and kneeling, they offered him every honor and reverence, as to their lord. At this solemn ceremony which the Tartars held for their lord at this time, no one should wonder because, perchance, they know no better, or they do not have a more beautiful cloth on which to seat their lord. But at the fact that they did not want to change their first custom one can well wonder, they who have conquered so many lands and kingdoms and still retain their first custom. When they wanted to elect their lord, and I have been twice at the election of the emperor of the Tartars, and I have seen how all the Tartars assembled in a large field, placed him on a black felt who was to be their lord, and made a fine seat in the middle of them. And then the men of high positions came and those of the line of Changuis Can as well, and they lifted him on high, placed him on the seat, and then offered him every honor and reverence as to their dear and natural lord. Neither for the sovereignty nor for the riches they had conquered did they want to change their first custom.⁴¹⁾

Hayton's information became popularized, for example, in the Florence of Dante and Boccaccio through the chronicle of Giovanni Villani, a Florentine merchant and official: "Then, they gathered together and by divine inspiration made their emperor and lord a blacksmith of poor condition whose name was Canguis and who was lifted as an emperor on a poor felt; and as soon as he was made a lord he was surnamed Cane, that is, emperor in their language."⁴²⁾

It is indeed astonishing that in the middle of the nineteenth century the felt carpet of similar kind was still used in the enthronement ceremony among some pastoral peoples of Central Asia.⁴³⁾ For example, among the Kirgiz:

Wenn der Kan erwählt ist, so begeben sich die angesehensten Sultane zu ihm und theilen ihm die Wahl mit, dann setzt man ihn auf eine dünne, weisse Filzdecke, hebt ihn in die Höhe und setzt ihn wieder nieder. Haufenweise drängt sich das Volk heran und sucht ebenfalls den Kan aufzuheben und niederzusetzen. Zum Schlusse der Ceremonie wird die weisse Filzdecke, auf der der Kan gesessen, und oft ein Theil der Kleidung desselben, in kleine Stücke zerrissen und jeder der Anwesenden sucht einen kleinen Fetzen als

41) Old French text in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Documents arméniens* 2, 148-49, quoted in Boodberg, "Marginalia to the Histories of the Northern Dynasties," pp. 242-43.

42) G. Villani, *Istorie Fiorentine*, Lib. V, cap. 29, quoted in Olschki, *The Myth of Felt*, p. 21.

43) "The survival of the custom (invariably with a white felt and in most cases with four men lifting the rug) has been observed among Turkish and Mongol tribes down to the present time." (Boodberg, "Marginalia to the Histories of the Northern Dynasties," pp. 244f.)

Erinnerungszeichen dass er bei der Wahl zugegen gewesen, mit nach Hause zu nehmen. 44)

We do not pretend to have collected all the relevant data on the use of the felt carpet in the enthronement ceremony. It is quite possible that our information will increase through further inquiry into documentary sources, 45) but the examples we have assembled are enough to show the conspicuous part the felt carpet has played in the enthronement ceremony of some pastoral peoples in Central Asia. As Professor Boodberg has beautifully put it, "practised by nomadic rulers eight or nine hundred years before Jenghis Khan, the rite must have been part of the traditional ceremony of the inauguration of a khan, and the solemnity with which it was performed by the great conquerer's descendants would indicate that it was well sanctified by tradition." 46) It is our contention that the sacred nature of the kings of the pastoral peoples in Central Asia is ultimately derived from the shaman's initiation ceremony, in which the felt carpet functions as the *sacred place* par excellence where he ascends to heaven and descends from there to earth. In Central and North Asia the shaman has long been the "specialist of the sacred" (M. Eliade), and as such his words and deeds have naturally served as the exemplary model for those of other persons, including the powerful kings.

44) Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, I, p. 516. Cf. also Laufer, "The Early History of Felt," p. 12.

45) Some other information on the enthronement of Mongol khans is given and discussed in Boodberg, "Marginalia to the Histories of the Northern Dynasties," p. 244; Olschki, *The Myth of Felt*, pp. 24-27.

46) Boodberg, "Marginalia to the Histories of the Northern Dynasties," p. 244.

LA FEMME CELESTE ET SON OMBRE

*Contribution à l'étude d'un mythologème gnostique**

PAR

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Au Congrès de Parme¹⁾ de Philosophie de la Religion, U. Bianchi reprenait ses déjà connues distinctions méthodologiques, en assignant à la phénoménologie de la religion un rôle purement *heuristique*. La comparaison, disait Bianchi, est pleinement légitime lorsque, au-delà de la pure constatation d'effectives *analogies* entre diverses structures qu'on peut appeler „religieuses”, elle établit aussi toutes les possibles connexions historiques des moments *analogues* étudiés. Comme le prof. Olivetti observait lors des discussions, c'est précisément cette *rigueur* méthodologique que K. Rudolph et d'autres avaient mise en lumière.

C'est entre ces présupposés, que nous faisons nôtres, que nous croyons la série de comparaisons illustrée ci-dessous comme légitime, soit-elle comme simple moyen heuristique.

Dans son article sur le *Docétisme*²⁾, U. Bianchi considérait que „the entire problem of gnosticism amounts to defining a specific mode

*) Je remercie beaucoup les professeurs M. Eliade et U. Bianchi, qui ont bien voulu lire ces pages et me donner des précieuses suggestions. Je remercie aussi Mme et M. Ph. Lavastine qui m'ont gentiment offert leur hospitalité à Paris pendant la rédaction de l'article; encore une fois je dois remercier M. Lavastine pour l'accès qu'il m'a permis à son exceptionnelle bibliothèque et pour des indications concernant le mythe védique de Saranyū. Il serait intéressant d'analyser ultérieurement le cas où, à partir de l'„ombre” conçue comme maléfique il se développe une entière cosmologie dualiste / cfr. M. Eliade, *De Zalmoxis à Gengis-Khan*, Paris 1970, 87 /. Mais nous reviendrons sur le même sujet.

1) 23-26 octobre 1974. Voir les mêmes opinions précédemment exprimées par U. Bianchi, *La Storia delle Religioni*, in P. Tacchi Venturi-G. Castellani (Eds.), *Storia delle Religioni I* Torino 1971, 9-12; 15 sqq.; 18 sqq.; 149 sqq.; 154 sqq.

2) Ugo Bianchi, *Docetism. A Peculiar Theory about the Ambivalence of the Presence of the Divine*, in *Myths and Symbols. Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade*. Ed. by J. M. Kitagawa-Ch. M. Long..., Chicago-London 1969, 265-73.

of presence for heavenly beings in this world" et voyait dans le traité gnostique copte l'*Hypostase des Archontes* un des meilleurs points de départ dans l'étude du docétisme³).

Pour les gnostiques, le docétisme est loin de se limiter à une certaine interprétation christologique, mais „also involves figures like the heavenly woman, the Anthropos, and in general . . . all of the heavenly beings who, according to the gnostic mythology, are present in this world in some way or another, whether actively or passively" ⁴).

Dans le présent article nous nous proposons d'analyser, à partir de la définition du „docétisme" donnée par U. Bianchi, le mythologème gnostique de la femme céleste et de son ombre dans quelques moments analogues de diverses autres traditions religieuses. Nous n'entendons pas nous hasarder dans des hypothèses génétiques, mais seulement chercher à établir la signification du mythologème et de son passage graduel vers une forme conceptualisée, vers une „métaphysique de l'image". Cela ne veut absolument pas dire qu'il s'agit d'un passage chronologique, et que la „métaphysique de l'image" représente une forme historiquement plus „évoluée" de l'expression mythologique. Nous croyons que les recherches de M. Eliade, H. Corbin, K. Kerényi, H. Rahner et d'autres ont suffisamment mis en lumière l'autonomie du langage symbolique en général, par rapport au langage conceptuel. D'autre part, il y a trente ans, c'était encore difficile à accepter que les Bambara avaient une „ontologie" ou que les Pygmées avaient une „métaphysique"; mais cela semble tout à fait naturel aujourd'hui. Ce présupposé, comme nous l'avons dit ailleurs ⁵), était réjà connu et affirmé par les Néoplatoniciens ⁶), une des traditions philosophiques fort sensibles et ouvertes au phénomène religieux en général.

Il faut préciser aussi que les analogies envisagées comportent des *degrés* différents; en général, pour établir des filiations entre divers

3) Ibid., 265.

4) Ibid., 265-6.

5) Récension à M. Meslin, *Pour une science des religions*, Paris 1973, à paraître dans „*Aevum*" (Milano). Mais cfr. U. Bianchi, *La religione greca*, in Tacchi Venturi-Castellani (Eds.) cit., III, 211, sur le rôle du Néoplatonisme dans l'ensemble de l'hellénisme.

6) Cfr. Proclus, in *Plat. Theol.* I 4 (P 9-10), 20 Saffrey-Westerink (Paris 1968), sur les quatre „modes de l'enseignement théologique de Platon": par symboles, par images, par „révélation" (entheastikos) et „scientifique" (kat'epistémén).

moments religieux, les historiens des religions „empiriques” ne faisaient que constater deux choses:

- 1) un degré suffisamment haut d'analogie;
- 2) un rapprochement géographique et culturel qui rende possible la migration d'un motif d'un espace à l'autre.

Or, pour le mythologème étudié ensuite, il résultera fort clair que nous n'avons un degré suffisamment haut d'analogie ni pour ce qui concerne l'Égypte ni pour ce qui concerne le Judaïsme (d'ailleurs les précisions chronologiques sont très difficiles à établir dans le cas de ce dernier), qu'en Grèce on le rencontre sous une forme très différente et que seulement en Inde le degré d'analogie serait suffisamment haut pour qu'on puisse établir une „filiation”. Mais l'Inde est trop éloignée, et la migration des motifs indiens pose d'innombrables problèmes qu'on ne pourrait résoudre ici. C'est pour cela que le présent article se refuse toute hypothèse génétique, en restant dans son projet purement heuristique. Bien que beaucoup d'indianistes aient remarqué les analogies structurelles entre certaines formes du buddhisme ⁷⁾, du tantrisme ⁸⁾, de la philosophie indienne ⁹⁾ et de la gnose, analogies qui résultent parfois étonnantes, il faut considérer que de telles analogies soient formulables seulement au niveau phénoménologique, tant qu'une nouvelle démarche historique n'a encore démontré le contraire.

1. Docétisme

Il faut entendre par docétisme une solution particulière dans le cadre de la „théologie du signe”, c'est-à-dire de la modalité du divin d'être présent dans le monde concret. Le docétisme, contrairement au dogme, cherche à émusser les contradictions comprises dans une descente du transcendant dans le monde, en envisageant la présence du sacré comme ambivalente, apparente et non effective. „Docetism”, dit Bianchi ¹⁰⁾, „is a very specific kind of union, and at the same time a separation, between the two worlds; it is a kind of union well-fitted to correspond to the dualistic-monistic presuppositions of gnostic cos-

7) Cfr. E. Conze, *Buddhism and Gnosis*, in U. Bianchi (Ed.), *Le origini dello Gnosticismo*, Leiden 1967 (St. in Hist. of Rels., Suppl. to *Numen* 12), 651-67.

8) G. Tucci, *Teoria e pratica del mandala*², Rome 1969, 92; M. Eliade, *Spirit, Light, and Seed*, in HR 11 (1971), 1, 1-30.

9) M. Eliade, *Aspects du mythe*, Paris 1963, 157-65.

10) *Docetism* cit., 266-7.

mology and metaphysics¹¹). According to gnosticism, everything endowed with form, with life, and with order originates in the heavenly world; this presupposes a clear and at the same time complex formulation of the relationship between the two worlds. To give such a formulation was the aim of docetism”.

Le gnosticisme a eu, en dehors de la christologie, maintes manières pour exprimer le caractère ambigu de ce qui, du monde divin, se reflète dans le monde d'en bas. Les symboles les plus connus sont les *sceaux*¹²), l'*arôme* (la *rosée* ou l'*aspersion*) de lumière, etc.¹³). De cette façon, le divin est présent dans le monde inférieur comme une „impression”, plutôt imaginativement qu'effectivement. Quand il s'agit d'êtres célestes gnostiques, la dialectique de la présence-absence et le jeu permanent des *qui pro quo*-s deviennent plus compliqués¹⁴). Une de ces modalités du docétisme, celle de l'„ombre” ou du „double” d'une entité céleste, pourrait être retrouvée dans beaucoup d'autres formulations, mythologiques et métaphysiques, dont l'étude, indiquait Bianchi dans le même article, pourrait être intéressante pour l'historien des religions. Sans doute, une telle étude se contentera de données immédiates dans un ou deux domaines, en présentant, pour les autres, seulement un cadre interprétatif et indicatif. Dans ce cas, épuisé son rôle d'historien, le chercheur devra assumer celui d'herméneute sans avoir pu présenter d'une manière exhaustive tous les problèmes particuliers.

2. La femme céleste et son ombre dans l'„Hypostase des Archontes”

L'*Hypostase des Archontes* est, dans le système de numération proposé par M. Krause et P. Labib, le quatrième traité du second

11) Cfr. U. Bianchi, *Il dualismo religioso*, Roma 1958, 20 sq.

12) Par ex., Hippol., *ref.* V. 10, 2; cf. pour les parallèles iraniennes, Bidez-Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés* II, Paris 1938, 226; F. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*², Paris 1909, 186 sq. idem; *Lux perpetua*, Paris 1949, 298 sqq.; A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithras-liturgie*³ (reprint), Darmstadt 1966, 12, 13 sqq.; G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, Stuttgart 1965, 193 sqq.; pour les parallèles judaïques, cfr. G. Scholem, *Ueber eine Formel in den koptisch-gnostischen Schriften u. ihre jüdischen Ursprung*, in ZNTW 30 (1931), 170-76; idem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition*, New York 1960, 31-4 (cfr. notre *Myth Patterns of Initiation and the Journey of the Soul in Gnosticism*, *Paper* préparé pour le Congrès IAHR 1975).

13) Cfr. Iren. I 30, 1-14; Hippol., *ref.* V 17, 7-8- etc.

14) Par exemple dans la *Pistis Sophia* (Schmidt-Till, *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften* I, Berlin 1954) (v. notre article cité avant).

Codex de Nag Hammadi. P. Labib en a publié une reproduction photographique en 1956. Il a été traduit en allemand par H. M. Schenke¹⁵⁾ et, plus récemment, édité et traduit en anglais par R. Aubrey Bullard¹⁶⁾. Le traité appartient au IV^eme siècle¹⁷⁾ (330-40 d'après S. Giversen¹⁸⁾). Il est écrit en sahidique, avec des légères différences par rapport au classique, que M. Krause a mises en lumière¹⁹⁾. Du point de vue typologique, il s'agit d'un écrit ophite avec des influences valentiniennes²⁰⁾. Nous nous attendons donc à y trouver une entité divine féminine, la Sophia, presque toujours présente dans le gnosticisme syro-égyptien²¹⁾. Elle se trouve à la périphérie du monde divin et, dans sa nostalgie du centre, elle est coupable d'une création irrégulière qui porte à la fracture du plérôme et, par conséquent, à la formation d'une ramification divine déchue et isolée. Celle-ci est formée par le démiurge ignorant et par ses archontes. Ceux-ci créeront le monde inférieur et l'homme physique et psychique; à l'insu d'eux, l'entité féminine responsable du drame divin va insuffler à l'homme une étincelle pneumatique qui le rend supérieur à ses créateurs mêmes²²⁾.

15) *Das Wesen der Archonten: eine gnostische Originalschrift aus dem Funde von Nag Hammadi*, in ThLZ 83 (1958), 661-70; J. Leipoldt-H. M. Schenke, *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften aus den Papyrus-Codices von Nag-Hammadi*, in ThForsch 1960, 67-78, 83-4; cfr. un résumé dans G. Sfameni-Gasparro, *Lo Gnosticismo*, in Tacchi Venturi-Castellani (Eds.) cit., V, 738-9.

16) R. Aubrey Bullard, *The Hypostasis of the Archons. The Coptic Text with Translation and Commentary. With a Contribution by Martin Krause*, Berlin 1970 (Patr. Texte u. Stud. 10), 132 pp. in 8°.

17) Cfr. M. Krause, *Die Sprache der Hypostase der Archonten*, in Bullard cit., 4.

18) *Apocryphon Johannis*, Copenhagen 1963 (Acta Theol. Danica 5), 40.

19) Art. cit., in Bullard, 4-17.

20) Cfr. Bullard, *Introduction*, 3.

21) Iren. I 4; Hippol. VI 31, 1-3; Tertull, *adv. val.* 9, 2. L'on a considéré, en général, qu'il s'agissait d'une entité féminine seulement parce que les mots qui la désignent conceptuellement, en Grec (sophia) et en Hébreu (hokhmah), sont féminins. Récemment, M. Meslin a suggéré que de tels „schémas à fantômes” puissent constituer „les structures mêmes de l'imagination” (cfr. *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Romain*, Paris 1970, 141-2; *Pour une science des religions* cit., 206-7; v. ma récession). Par gnosticisme „syro-égyptien” nous entendons un des deux types principaux du gnosticisme qui part de certains pré-supposés dualistes qui déterminent son entière structure, différente de celle du gnosticisme „iranien” (cfr. H. Jonas, *Gnosis u. spätantiker Geist*² I, Göttingen 1954, 331-5; *Gnostic Religion* (tr. it. M. Ricatti, Torino 1973, 147-8)).

22) Cfr. U. Bianchi, *Péché originel et péché antécédent*, in RHR 170 (1966),

Le texte ne s'est pas préservé en entier; dans son état actuel, l'histoire commence avec la manifestation d'orgueil et d'ignorance de Samaël, le chef des archontes (134,27-135,5; cf. aussi le texte classique d'Irénée I 30 sur les Ophites). L'entité féminine nommée, dans la traduction de Bullard, „Imperishability”, regarde en bas vers la région des eaux inférieures. „Her image appeared in the waters, and the powers (exousia) of darkness fell in love with it. But they were not able to reach that image which had appeared to them in the waters because of their weakness, for the psychics (psychikos) will not be able to reach the pneumatic (pneumatikos), because they are from below, but he is from above. Because of this, Imperishability looked down on the regions (méros), in order (hina), in the will of the Father, to unite the All with the Light”²³). Les archontes projettent de former (plâssein) l'homme à l'instar de l'image reflétée dans les eaux inférieures (135,31-3). Samaël, leur chef, insuffle l'âme à la créature de terre (chous) (136,4). L'Esprit (pneûma), qui réside dans une „terre de diamant” (adamantinê)²⁴), voit sur la terre en bas l'homme psychique et s'y établit dedans (136,14-15). L'homme devient vivant. Après cela il y a l'habituelle interprétation gnostique syro-égyptienne de la genèse judaïque, qui ne nous intéresse pas directement ici. Ultérieurement, quand la „femme spirituelle” (pneumatikê; 137,11) visite Adam, les archontes (exousia) la convoitent aussi (137,22-3), comme ils avaient convoité avant l'image reflétée dans les eaux primordiales. „They pursued (dioklein) her and she laughed at them because of their senselessness and their blindness, and she spent a night with them. She placed her shadow, (an image) of her, under them. And they defiled (themselves) abominably, and they defiled the seal (sphragis) of her voice, that they might condemn their very selves in their creature (plasma) (and their) image”²⁵). L'épisode de la convoitise irrégu-

117 sqq.; G. Quispel, *La conception de l'homme dans la gnose valentinienne*, in *Erano's Jrhb.* 15 (1947), 249-86.

23) HA 135, 11-23, p. 21 Bullard; comm. de Bullard, 55-8.

24) Sur ce mythologème gnostique et ses analogies nous préparons un autre article; v., pour le moment, Aug., *c. ep. fund.*, p. 212 Zycha; *de nat. boni*, p. 877 Zycha ou A. Adam, *Texte zum Manichäismus*², Berlin 1969, 28, 45-6, etc. Cfr. avec A. Orbe, S. I., *Terra virgo et flamma*, in: *Gregorianum* 33 (1952), 2, 299-302; J. Daniélou, *Terre et Paradis chez les Pères de l'Eglise*, in *EJ* 22 (1953), 433-72; P. Mus, *Barabudur II*, Hanoi 1935, 499 sqq. H. Corbin, *Terre céleste et corps de résurrection*, Paris 1960, etc.

25) HA 137, 23-31, p. 25 Bullard.

lière des archontes revient pour une troisième fois de suite dans le même texte, avec l'histoire de Norea (Orea), fille d'Eve, dans laquelle R. Aubrey Bullard voit une figure fort probablement égyptienne, transformée pour l'usage des gnostiques ²⁶⁾.

La femme céleste s'est toujours fait substituer par son „image”, son „ombre”, car l'idée d'un contact possible entre elle et les forces ténébreuses n'est digne que de son amusement. Il n'y a donc aucune condescendance de la divinité envers eux, mais seulement une ruse qui les rend dupes. Dans le régime du plérôme gnostique, scindé naguère par une „erreur” d'expansion, une autre défaillance ontologique n'est plus possible: ce qui est en haut ne peut avoir avec ce qui est en bas sinon ce contact dérisoire. Le mythe qu'on a reporté témoigne assez bien du type „mitigé” du dualisme syro-égyptien.

Le scénario mythique se décompose en deux „actants” et en quatre séquences: les actants sont la femme céleste d'une part et les archontes (personnage collectif), de l'autre. Les quatre séquences sont:

- 1) les archontes convoitent la femme céleste;
- 2) la femme céleste se dérobe;
- 3) elle se fait substituer par ombre à elle-même;
- 4) les archontes procréent avec l'ombre.

3. *Le mythologème*

a) *Procréation avec l'ombre dans l'Ancien Egypte*

La Sophia, ainsi qu'elle est envisagée par quelques textes du gnosticisme syro-égyptien, ressemble par quelques traits à la déesse égyptienne du ciel Nut ²⁷⁾. Ce mythologème, avec des parallèles en Grèce ²⁸⁾, ne nous intéresse qu'indirectement, car nous n'entendons pas faire un inventaire de tous les thèmes concernant l'hypostase de la „femme céleste”.

Dans une cosmogonie égyptienne archaïque l'on rencontre, d'après

26) HA 140, 19-32; comm. de Bullard, 94 sqq.

27) Cfr., sur Nut, Shu, Geb et Tefnout, H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin 1952, s. vv. (201 sq., 536-9; 685-9); V. Ions, *Mythologie égyptienne*, tr. fr. L. Jospin, Paris 1969, 46-54.

28) Cfr. F. M. Cornford, *A Ritual Basis for Hesiod's Theogony*, in *The unwritten Philosophy and other Essays*, ed. by W. C. Guthrie, Cambridge U.P. 1950, 98-104.

beaucoup de chercheurs ²⁹⁾, le mythe de la procréation avec l'ombre, situé dans le contexte d'une façon tout-à-fait différente de celle décrite pour l'HA, comme il sera éclairci par la suite. H. Bonnet a refusé cette interprétation, en considérant que la nouvelle transcription de Faulkner faisait lire „main” au lieu d'„ombre” ³⁰⁾. Le professeur C. J. Bleeker a eu l'amabilité de nous assurer (lettre du 23.2.1975, à Chicago) que celle-ci était l'interprétation correcte et que nous n'aurions pas du nous fier par ces chercheurs.

Le dieu Neb-er-der („Lord of the uttermost limit”) ³²⁾ est un *deus absconditus*, un dieu qui se retire après avoir laissé Khepera (Khepri), son hypostase active, à sa place. Or, Khepera, qui est seul, doit forcément trouver un élément qui constitue la dyade primordiale sans laquelle rien ne peut être engendré. Il eut, „in some form, union with his shadow ³³⁾, and so begot offspring, who proceeded from his body under the forms of the gods Shu and Tefnut” ³⁴⁾. Kees a observé ³⁵⁾ que l'ombre joue ici le rôle d'une entité féminine.

En Egypte, l'ombre est liée à tout un complexe mythique et symbolique qu'on rencontre, d'ailleurs, chez les peuples dits „primitifs”. Bonnet nous dit qu'elle est une partie des „Gestalten und Kräften, in denen das Leben des Menschen gründet” ³⁶⁾. Chez les „primitifs”, les facultés vitales sont aussi très souvent associées avec l'ombre ³⁷⁾. En Egypte, comme chez les „primitifs”, l'ombre pouvait constituer une menace, car les démons auraient pu s'en saisir et l'engloutir. Dans des textes égyptiens plus tardifs, l'on conçoit les morts mêmes comme

29) Cfr. Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians or Studies in Egyptian Mythology* I, London 1904, 308 sqq.; *Legends of the Gods*, London 1912, XIX sqq. et 5 sqq.; *From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt*, London 1934, 141 sqq.; H. Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der Alten Aegypter*, Leipzig 1926, 82; S. A. B. Mercer, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, London 1949, 39.

30) Bonnet, *Reallexikon* s. „Schatten”, 676.

31) *Legends of the Gods*, 5 sqq.

32) *Legends of the Gods*, XIX.

33) Cfr. le texte à p. 5.

34) *Legends of the Gods*, XIX et 5.

35) *Totenglauben*, 82.

36) *Reallexikon*, s. „Schatten”.

37) Cfr. Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality* I, London 1913, 129 etc.; L. Lévy-Bruhl, *L'Ame primitive*, Paris 1927, 161 sqq.; F. Herrmann, *Symbolik in den Religionen der Naturvölker*, Stuttgart 1961, 18.

des ombres³⁸), croyance qu'on rencontre chez beaucoup de peuples et, à une certaine phase, chez les Grecs aussi³⁹).

Dans le mythe de Khepri, il y a un seul actant: le dieu solitaire qui trouve dans sa propre ombre la contre-partie féminine qui lui permet de se dédoubler et d'engendrer. Mais, sauf la dernière séquence du mythe gnostique (quelqu'un qui procrée avec l'ombre), il n'y a d'autres ressemblances entre les deux textes étudiés, et d'ailleurs, dans le texte égyptien il paraît qu'il s'agit de la masturbation théogonique d'un être primordial (cfr., d'ailleurs Iren. I 30, 2 où „l'aspersion de lumière” tombe en bas, avec l'équation sperme-lumière étudiée par Eliade, *Spirit, Light, and Seed* et avec l'inceste de Prajâpati, *Śatapatha brâhmana* I, 7, 4, où une partie du sperme tombe sur le sol; *apud* J. Varenne, *Mythes et légendes extraits des Brâhmana*, Paris 1967, & 10).

b) *Lilith, la première femme d'Adam*

Le démon babylonien Lillû, Lilû, que S. H. Langdon⁴⁰) fait dériver du sumérien *lil*, „vent”, était l'incube „enticing women in their sleep”, pendant que sa contre-partie féminine, la démonsse Lilîtu, „exercised the same pernicious influence over men”⁴¹). Lilith, fille de Lilû, est mentionnée dans les listes babyloniennes des douze démons qui produisent maladie, pestilence et mort⁴²). Dans la mythologie juive, Lilith devint la démonsse-succube par excellence et on lui attribua aussi la fonction d'enlever les enfants. Elle pénétra aussi dans la démonologie hellénistique. C'est toujours un démon nocturne et un rapprochement phonétique veut qu'il y ait une liaison étymologique entre son nom et le nom qui désigne la nuit dans les langues sémitiques⁴³). Une histoire qui a des racines dans la littérature talmudique, mais a été très développée surtout par la kabbale, fait de Lilith la première

38) Cfr. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead*², II, London 1951, ch. LX (284, 287).

39) E. Rohde, *Psyché*, tr. fr. A. Reymond, Paris 1928, 85; F. Cumont, *Lux perpetua*, 56 sqq.

40) S. H. Langdon, *The Mythology of all Races V: Semitic*, Boston 1931, 361-2.

41) *Ibid.*, 362.

42) *Ibid.*

43) E. Langton, *La Démonologie*, tr. fr. G. Waringhien, Paris 1951, 56.

femme d'Adam, en certaines versions tirée de lui-même ⁴⁴). Elle représente donc son „ombre”, son côté maléfique incarné dans une entité féminine nocturne et démonique. L'histoire du *midrash* précise aussi que Lilith se dérobe à son devoir d'épouse et refuse de consommer son mariage: „Why should I lie beneath you”, dit-elle à Adam, „when I am your equal since both of us were created from dust?” ⁴⁵)

Les actantes, qui agissent dans un contexte dualiste (comme dans l'HA, mais plus „mitigé”), sont deux: Adam et Lilith. Mais Lilith ne se fait pas substituer par son „ombre”, elle *est* en quelque sorte l'„ombre” d'Adam (encore faut-il prendre cette interprétation avec une certaine prudence, entre les limites permises par les textes). Adam est ici supérieur ontologiquement à Lilith, donc le cadre du mythe gnostique semble renversé. On peut établir les séquences suivantes:

- 1) Adam (supérieur) convoite Lilith (inférieur), son „ombre” même;
- 2) Lilith se dérobe.

Le motif de la procréation apparaît aussi dans quelques versions du mythe, donc on pourrait établir une analogie partielle entre celui-ci et le mythe de la femme céleste dans l'HA.

c) *Saranyû (Samjnâ), son ombre (Châyâ) et un mythe védique*

Dans le Xème *mandala* du *Rgveda* (X 17, 1-2) il y a une allusion à la déesse Saranyû, mère de Yama ⁴⁶). L'on dit que, pendant que son père Tvastr annonce le mariage de sa fille et tout le monde (des divins) se rassemble pour la fête, Saranyû disparaît. Une sosie (savarî: textuel „de même couleur” ou „forme”, une „image” ou, mieux, un „double”) la remplace auprès de son époux Vivasvat. Or, Saranyû n'est pas un personnage de second ordre dans la mythologie hindoue, car on lui attribue la maternité du couple des jumeaux primordiaux Yama-Yamî, de Manu, l'ancêtre mythique de l'humanité, et des deux Ashvins. Elle est l'entité divine le plus directement liée aux commence-

44) R. Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess*, s. l. 1967, 207-45 (cfr. 210); G. Scholem, *Die Vorstellung vom Golem in ihren tellurischen u. magischen Beziehungen*, in EJ 22 (1953), 241.

45) Patai, ch. VII n. 12 et 210 sqq.

46) K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda*, Cambridge Mass. 1951 (Harvard Or. Ser. 35), III, 149-50.

ments de l'histoire humaine et occupe, donc, une position analogue à la „femme céleste” des gnostiques.

Le mythe auquel le *Rgveda* fait plutôt d'obscures allusions a été beaucoup discuté dans la tradition hindoue. Par exemple, Yâska (Nirukta, XII 10) ajoute que Saranyû se sauva en prenant la forme d'un cheval et se fit remplacer par une sosie, un „double” (savarnâ). Mais Vivasvat prit aussi la forme d'un cheval, la poursuivit et ils engendrèrent les deux Ashvins, pendant que la savarnâ accouchait de Manu.

Une version beaucoup plus étendue du mythe (*Visnupurâna* 3, 2) nous apprend que la fille de Tvastṛ, appelée cette fois-ci Samjnâ (le sens du verbe sam-jnâ est „être d'accord avec”, cf. Monier Williams, s.v.), ne peut pas supporter les ardeurs (tejas) de son époux le soleil, et alors elle met Châyâ (litt. „shading”, cf. Monier Williams, s.v.) à sa place. Cela veut dire qu'elle est substituée par son „ombre” même, par son „double”, car la sosie sera appelée par la suite châyâ-samjnâ, l'„ombre de Samjnâ” (2-3). L'opération est répétée après le retour de la déesse chez son mari, car elle ne peut supporter son éclat ni même quand il l'a partiellement diminué (ib., 8). Elle transforme de nouveau son corps „aimé par le soleil” en une ombre (châyâ) (ib., 11-12), qui tient sa place pendant qu'elle s'échappe en forme de jument (vadavâ; cf. ib., 23) ⁴⁷).

Sans doute, la signification du mythe de Saranyû-Samjnâ a peu ou rien à faire avec la signification du mythe gnostique. Toutefois, les analogies au niveau purement morphologique sont impressionnantes. Il y a deux actants, Saranyû (qui se fait substituer par son ombre pour consommer les rapports avec son époux) et Vivasvat, le dernier en quelque sorte supérieur à la première, car c'est elle qui ne peut supporter le déploiement de ses forces. Les séquences du mythe sont quatre :

- 1) Vivasvat convoite Saranyû;
- 2) Saranyû se dérobe;
- 3) elle se fait substituer par son ombre;
- 4) Vivasvat procréé avec l'ombre.

47) Il n'est pas sans intérêt de montrer qu'il y a, dans la mythologie germanique, un lien entre le succube et le cheval: le -mar, -mare de l'all. *Nachtmar*, angl. *nightmare* ont des parallèles dans le skr. *marah*, ags. *mear*, altn. *marr* „cheval” (J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*³ II, Göttingen 1854, 1193-95). Ainsi, un subtil lien, sans des traces historiques précises, pourrait unir Saranyû et Lilith, la démonsse succube.

d) *Le kolossos et la catégorie psychologique du „double”*

Dans l'*Alceste* d'Euripide, Admète remplace sa femme morte par une effigie. Ainsi, Alceste est „présente quoique absente” (kaiper ouk échon échein, v. 342). „Dans son commerce singulier, son âme (psyché), au lieu du chaud plaisir, n'éprouvera sans doute que froide volupté (psychron): qu'est elle-même la psyché sinon une ombre froide?” 48).

Le scénario a ici deux actants, Admète et Alceste, dont la dernière est substituée auprès de son époux par une effigie. Les séquences du scénario sont trois:

- 1) Admète convoite Alceste;
- 2) celle-ci se dérobe (involontairement);
- 3) celle-ci est substituée par un „double”.

Abstraction faite du sens, l'on retrouve ici un degré assez haut d'analogie avec le mythe gnostique. L'effigie d'Alceste est une espèce de *kolossos*, une statue qui, pour les Grecs, remplaçait un cadavre absent 49). J. P. Vernant a démontré qu'il ne s'agissait pas d'une forme consacrée pour l'au-delà, mais de „traduire dans une forme visible certaines puissances de l'au-delà, qui sont du domaine de l'invisible” 50). Le projet était donc différent de celui qui animait la construction du Golem chez les Juifs ou de l'„homuncule” alchimique. „*Colossos* et *psuché* sont . . . , pour le Grec, étroitement apparentés. Ils rentrent dans une catégorie de phénomènes très définis, auxquels s'applique le terme de *eidôla* et qui comprend, à côté de cette ombre qu'est la *psuché* et de cette grossière idole qu'est le *colossos*, des réalités comme l'image du rêve (*oneiros*), l'ombre (*skia*), l'apparition surnaturelle (*phasma*)” 51).

Vernant considère que l'on peut parler du *double* comme d'une catégorie psychologique différente de celle d'image: „Le double est une réalité extérieure au sujet mais qui, dans son apparence même, s'oppose par son caractère insolite aux objets familiers, au décor

48) Eurip., *Alc.* 353-4; cfr. J. P. Vernant, *Figuration de l'invisible et catégorie psychologique du double: le kolossos*, in *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs*, Paris 1965, 258.

49) Vernant, 253.

50) Ibid., 251.

51) Ibid., 255.

ordinaire de la vie. Il joue sur deux plans contrastés à la fois: dans le moment où il se montre présent il se révèle comme n'étant pas ici, comme appartenant à un inaccessible ailleurs" 52).

Nous sommes donc très proches de l'interprétation que Jamblique, dans son traité sur les mystères des Egyptiens, donnait de toute effigie construite en terre pour „attirer des puissances célestes". Un pas énorme a été accompli, si l'on pense aux interprétations que Lévy-Bruhl donnait du „double" et de l'„ombre" 53). L'on a découvert la logique intrinsèque qu'anime toutes ces représentations religieuses et l'on se place, lors de la démarche critique, sur le plan même de pensée dont ces représentations témoignent, qui n'est pas „pré-logique", mais simplement „para-logique".

Pour ce qui concerne le mythologème dont il s'agit ci-haut, nous avons trouvé des formes analogues dans divers espaces culturels; l'analogie est d'un degré suffisamment haut, pour pouvoir parler d'un „mythologème", dans le cas du mythe védique de Saranyû et dans le cas d'Alceste. Mais nous avons vu que tandis chez les Juifs il y avait des traces, plus tardives, du même mythologème, et aussi de la séquence où une certaine entité se dérobe à une autre. Tout cela n'est pas sans rapport avec l'ensemble du mythologème gnostique étudié, décomposé dans ses unités mineures. Nous répétons qu'on sortirait du cadre limité de notre projet si l'on se lançait dans une hypothèse génétique; bien que l'interprétation fournie par Bullard soit très intéressante, pour ce qui concerne Norea (Orea), elle a le désavantage d'être trop compliquée, par rapport aux analogies plus clairement mises en lumière dans cet article. En tout cas, si l'origine du mythologème est à chercher en Egypte, cela n'exclut pas des élaborations parallèles, dont une origine commune est indémontrable. A' l'état actuel de la recherche, on ne saurait trouver aucune explication qui puisse convaincre un grand nombre de savants; mais pour cela il ne faut pas cesser de parler d'analogies, là où elles existent. Et énoncer clairement les limites de notre démarche.

4. De la mythologie à la métaphysique de l'image

Un fragment des *Acta Archelai* 54) parle du mythologème analogue

52) Ibid., 256.

53) Cfr. note 37.

54) Basilide, ap. Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai* 67, 4-12, pp. 90, 10-97, 24 Beeson.

d'une façon plus théorique, en renonçant aux complexes mythologiques si chers dans les milieux gnostiques: les personnages sont transformés en entités abstraites; là où il s'agissait, dans l'HA, d'êtres divins et d'êtres ténébreux, il ne s'agit maintenant que de lumière, „couleur”, ténèbres. Or, bien que la conceptualisation ne soit complète, la connotation du langage gnostique nous est assez familière pour qu'on puisse traduire cela en termes ontologiques et métaphysiques. „Ainsi un reflet”, disent les *Acta Archelai*, „c'est-à-dire quelque couleur de lumière, se fit seul sur les ténèbres; mais la lumière elle-même regarda seulement et s'éloigna, n'ayant pris aucune parcelle des ténèbres. Celles-ci au contraire saisirent le regard de la lumière, et le reflet ou la couleur que la matière en avait reçue, dans cet instant où elles lui avaient fait horreur. Comme les plus méchants avaient pris du meilleur, non la vraie lumière, mais une certaine apparence de celle-ci et un reflet, ils en tirèrent à eux quelque bien par un rapt qui en changeait la nature”⁵⁵).

L'essence de ce passage pourrait être résumée de cette façon; la communication entre les niveaux ontologiques supérieurs („les meilleurs”) et inférieurs („les plus méchants”) n'est pas possible de manière immédiate; dans les degrés inférieurs de l'être, les essences supérieures se dégradent, elles sont „non la vraie lumière, mais une certaine apparence de celle-ci et un reflet”. Le supérieur a horreur et mépris de l'inférieur, il évite tout contact souillant, tandis que l'inférieur ressent obscurément le désir des hauteurs ontologiques auxquelles il est lié par une lointaine parenté, et cherche à s'en emparer sans y réussir. Il se produit non une vraie union, mais un „rapt” qui dégrade la nature de l'objet volé.

Or, ce type de transposition conceptuelle d'un thème docétique correspond tout-à-fait aux présupposés dualistes du gnosticisme, au dualisme-monisme dont parle U. Bianchi, ou au „paradoxe” du gnosticisme énoncé par S. Pétrement⁵⁶).

5. *Métaphysique de l'image dans l'„Evangile de Philippe”*

Le dualisme gnostique pose des problèmes complexes, étudiés par

55) Traduit dans S. Pétrement, *Le Dualisme chez Platon, les Gnostiques et les Manichéens*, Paris 1947, 191.

56) *Le Dualisme*, 276 sqq.

Bianchi ⁵⁷⁾, dont on a eu l'occasion de parler ailleurs ⁵⁸⁾. On pourrait énoncer cette situation de déchéance de la substance divine, présente aussi dans l'Hermétisme ⁵⁹⁾, dans les termes suivants: „la substance divine déchu fatalement et, l'on dirait, quelquefois même providentiellement dans le monde inférieur, accorde au monde inférieur... ce que celui-ci peut contenir (même d'une manière provisoire, contradictoire et précaire) de vie, de lumière, d'‘image’ (ou d'apparence) divine” ⁶⁰⁾.

Dans l'*Évangile* copte attribué à Philippe, „ce sur quoi l'auteur veut insister”, nous dit J. E. Ménard, „c'est l'opposition qui existe entre les valeurs spirituelles, qui sont les seules réelles, mais qui sont cachées, et celles du monde sensible, du monde révélé. Les dernières ne sont que l'ombre fantomatique des premières, leurs types et leurs images. Le monde d'en bas n'a pas d'explication que dans et par le monde d'en haut, qui est tout autre (allotrios). Et c'est les yeux fixés sur ce monde supérieur que le Démoniaque a voulu créer en vain le monde inférieur qui lui ressemblât. Et les Archontes, qui croient agir seuls, mais qui sont sous la dépendance de Sophia, qui est leur Mère, ont voulu imiter le monde supérieur et ont donné à l'homme des noms trompeurs” ⁶¹⁾. En analysant „la doctrine hellénistique de l'image et ses implications dualistes”, Bianchi observait que, pour les gnostiques, „le monde inférieur essaye en vain de refléter d'une manière durable une image du monde supérieur... L'idée d'image est fatement ambiguë: d'une part, elle signifie une parenté avec le divin; mais de l'autre, elle peut évoquer le concept que le monde inférieur est seulement ‘image’ (au sens détériéur du mot), c'est-à-dire pure apparence et mystification de ce qui est vraiment divin” ⁶²⁾. Or, comme Ménard le remarque, ce thème est aussi néoplatonicien ⁶³⁾. J. Trouillard ⁶⁴⁾ a mis en lumière les relations ambivalentes entre le monde sensible et le monde intelligible dans la pensée de Plotin: „... le sensible tend à constituer un

57) V. un bref résumé de sa conception dans *La religione greca* cit., 237.

58) V. note 12.

59) Cfr. G. Sfameni-Gasparro, *L'Ermetismo*, in Tacchi Venturi-Castellani cit., III, 406 sqq.

60) Bianchi, *La religione greca*, 357.

61) J. E. Ménard, *L'Évangile selon Philippe*, Paris 1967, 11-12.

62) Bianchi, *La religione greca*, 357 sqq.

63) Ménard cit., 11.

64) J. Trouillard, *La procession plotinienne*, Paris 1955, 11.

plan distinct de l'intelligible. Mais comme il n'y peut pas parvenir sans employer et détourner certaines puissances de l'esprit, l'ordre empirique doit échouer dans sa réussite même. Il ne forme ni un univers, ni une connaissance suffisamment différenciés. Il demeure en *continuité* toute spéciale avec le *noûs*, dans et par son opposition même".

Il serait intéressant d'étudier les images dont se sert un texte gnostique pour illustrer la même relation ambiguë, exprimée aussi dans le mythogème de la „femme céleste et de son ombre". Le *logion* 99 de l'EPH⁶⁵) parle de la chute qui a causé la création du monde sensible: „Le *kosmos* a été produit par une *paraptôma*" „En effet," continue le texte, „celui qui l'a façonné voulait le faire incorruptible et immortel (cf. le démiurge de Platon, *Tim.* 37c-38c). Il fit une chute, et il n'atteignit pas l'objet de son espérance (elpis), car il n'y avait pas d'incorruptibilité des œuvres, mais des enfants, et aucune œuvre ne pourra recevoir l'incorruptibilité, à moins qu'elle ne devienne enfant". Nous sommes renvoyés à une autre opposition de symboles: enfant-vs.-créature (engendrer-vs.-créer), expliquée dans le *log.* 121⁶⁶). Il faut entendre par „enfant" ou „engendré" ce qui a été pénétré par l'esprit, tandis que la „créature" a été seulement façonnée à l'image des choses spirituelles, sans en avoir reçu la vraie „étincelle". Le démiurge du monde visible a été créé, non pas engendré selon l'esprit, pendant que l'homme a été aussi engendré par la collaboration de l'esprit, il est donc ontologiquement supérieur au démiurge et à ses archontes. Ces derniers sont dupés par leur création, qui essentiellement les dépasse, car elle a reçu en secret la sanction du „vrai" monde, du monde divin.

6. Métaphysique platonicienne de l'image

Il serait difficile de comprendre le dualisme gnostique sans un recours au dualisme platonicien. „*Le dualisme dialectique de l'ontologie de Platon — c'est-à-dire le dualisme irréductible, dialectique et conditionnant, entre les modèles idéaux et le divin d'une part et, de l'autre, le monde de la chora et de l'ananke, c'est-à-dire de l'extension (donc de la matière) et de la nécessité* — est, en réalité, ce qui est reconnu unanimement de la part des studieux de l'hellénisme, de Nock et Festu-

65) P. 77, p. 95 Ménard, comm. 217-18.

66) P. 83, p. 107 Ménard, comm. 237 sqq. Cfr. aussi *log.* 29, 41, 84, 86, 99, 102, 120 et comm. de Ménard, 238.

gière à Dodds et Nilsson, *la source primaire du dualisme gnostique... La même observation vaut aussi pour le Platonisme en entier...*" 67).

Dans le passage du *Timée* 29b où il s'agit du modèle et de la copie (cf. *Resp.* X; *Soph.* 265), la copie apparaît comme une faible image du modèle. Cornford a raison de dire que „dans la nature il y a aussi des images de rêve, des ombres, des reflets, comme le tableau qu'un peintre fait d'une maison, 'un rêve fait par l'homme pour des yeux éveillés'" 68). „Parmi les ressemblances, Platon parle souvent de reflets dans l'eau ou dans un miroir" 69). Celle-ci est une des formes d'expression du dualisme platonicien.

Mais il se pourrait aussi que l'„ombre" ou le „double" ait, en Platon, une signification dualiste plus accentuée. L'âme du monde même, que, par son rôle dans l'ontologie platonicienne on pourrait approcher de la „femme céleste" de la mythologie gnostique, aurait, selon un passage des *Lois* (X, 896de), une „ombre" maléfique. S. Pétrement a consacré un chapitre de son livre sur le dualisme à la discussion controversée de ce passage 70). Zeller le considérerait interpolé, mais il y a, dans les *Lois* (899b), une allusion ultérieure au même, observée par R. Heinze. L'auteur probable de l'*Epinomis*, Philippe d'Opponte, qui serait aussi l'éditeur des *Lois*, aurait pu être le mystificateur du sens originel de la pensée platonicienne, car l'allusion à une âme du monde maléfique revient aussi dans l'*Epinom.* (988e). Une autre hypothèse, soutenue par Jaeger et Reitzenstein, serait celle d'une influence iranienne; à cela s'oppose le passage du *Politique* où Platon refuse l'idée de deux divinités contraires qui gouvernent le monde. „Tout d'abord, il n'est pas certain que le texte pose l'existence réelle de deux âmes. Cela peut être une position *fictive*. Nous avons, dans le *Timée* (28c-29a), un exemple exactement parallèle à celui-ci. Il s'agit de montrer que le monde est l'image d'un modèle éternel, comme il s'agit de prouver que le ciel est bien gouverné. Au lieu de dire simplement et directement que le monde est l'image d'un modèle éternel, Platon, par une étrange figure de rhétorique, pose d'abord deux modèles: l'un qui est éternel, l'autre qui est 'né', pour arriver à dire ensuite: A l'image duquel est formé le monde? Il est évident que c'est

67) U. Bianchi, *La religione greca* cit., 346-7.

68) F. M. Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology*, London 1948, 27-8.

69) Ibid., 28.

70) *Le Dualisme*, 64 sqq.

à l'image du modèle éternel, sans quoi le monde ne serait pas beau. Mais Platon a-t-il jamais cru qu'il y avait deux modèles? Ce qui devient, ce qui naît, ce n'est pas le modèle, pour lui, c'est justement le monde" 71). L. Robin croit aussi qu'il s'agit d'un simple procédé d'exposition, pendant que J. Moreau 72) croit que le passage veut simplement illustrer l'opposition entre l'âme du monde et l'âme particulière humaine. Wilamowitz, Gomperz, Pétrement et Bianchi 73) considèrent comme plausible l'existence de deux âmes cosmiques. Pour Wilamowitz, cette „ombre" n'est pas le „diable", mais plutôt une *privatio boni*, „le mal involontaire, l'ignorance, l'appesantissement de la matière" 74).

Que le dualisme platonicien soit ou non poussé jusqu'à affirmer la possibilité de deux âmes du monde, il est sûr qu'il y a, dans les passages du *Timée*, de la *République* et du *Sophiste*, la justification conceptuelle du mythologème gnostique de la „femme céleste", représentante d'un degré ontologique supérieur qui ne se communique pas entièrement dans la matrice sensible qui tend vers la forme, mais se dérobe plutôt à ce contact dégradant. Le dualisme gnostique trouve des formes imaginaires d'expression pour illustrer une séparation encore plus radicale des deux mondes que le dualisme „anti-somatique" de Platon.

7. Conclusion

Nous avons analysé quelques formes différentes d'expressions analogues du mythologème gnostique de la „femme céleste et de son ombre", à partir de deux points de vue différents: la première partie a été consacrée au mythologème en tant que tel et aux analogies formelles avec d'autres mythes parallèles; la deuxième partie a envisagé surtout les formes diverses de l'expression des présupposés dualistes du gnosticisme, en arrivant ainsi à une „métaphysique de l'image" qui pourrait constituer la forme conceptuelle du mythologème en question. Notre intention a été de souligner la pluralité de langages possibles pour illustrer une même idée, langages qui ont, chacun, leur autonomie

71) Ibid., 66-7.

72) J. Moreau, *L'Âme du monde de Platon aux Stoïciens*, Paris 1939, 68-9 / livre important pour l'étude comparative des mythologèmes gnostiques /.

73) Bianchi, *La rel. greca*, 236.

74) Cfr. S. Pétrement, *Le Dualisme*, 73.

et leurs lois intrinsèques. Ainsi, le langage du mythe apparaît comme autonome devant le langage conceptuel, mais il peut être réduit à un *Grund* métaphysique. Le mythologème nous est apparu dans ses métamorphoses et dans ses changements contextuels, sans la prétention de découvrir aucune „genèse” et aucun rapport de filiation historique. Si les analogies structurelles plus profondes on les a trouvées dans le mythe hindou de Saranyû, il n'est nullement dit qu'entre les deux formes analogues de l'imagination il y ait d'autre qu'une simple *possibilité* de concevoir de la même manière certains rapports entre des êtres divins, à partir, peut-être, des présupposés anthropologiques exposés pour la catégorie du „double” 75).

75) Pour les parallèles gnostiques de notre mythologème, le livre fondamental reste H.-M. Schencke, *Der Gott „Mensch” in der Gnosis*, Göttingen 1962, pp. 32-3 (discussion de G. Quispel, *Der gnostische Anthropos u. die jüdische Tradition*, in EJ 22/1953, 195-234), 34-6 (*Apokr. Joh.* 47, 14-49, 9 Till; 62, 13-63, 13 Labib), 38 ss. (l'idée de la réflexion de ce qui est en haut dans ce qui est en bas), 44 ss. (*Poim*, CH I 14, Nock 11, 13 ss.), 49 ss. („Titellose Schrift” 156, 2 ss. Labib), 61 ss. (HA). L'idée générale de Schenke est que ces représentations appartiennent aux prolongements de la spéculation sur le passage de la *Gen.* 1, 26 ss. (ibid., pp. 47-8, 79-80, 93, 155). Nous avons suivi une voie toute différente dans cet article, pour démontrer que le mythologème puisse exister même là où il ne s'agit point d'une solution — soit-elle docétique ou non — aux problèmes d'une „théologie du signe”.

MYTH AND HISTORIOGRAPHY: THE TALE OF THE 306 FABII

BY

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One of the fascinating but difficult tasks of the history of religions is the disentangling of the mythical content of tales handed down as historical matter. It is generally agreed that early Roman history is full of legendary facts. Myth, however, is a quite different question. One function of myth certainly is to explain ritual; and so far as ritual is executed for the benefit of a community myth is apt to penetrate into this community's history as exemplifying the *mos maiorum*. Though the ancient Romans had a gift for amalgamating mythology with historiography to a degree that has made it possible either to reject altogether their facts of early history as legends or to accept them as generally, albeit embellished, historical matter, the tale of the 306 Fabii in my opinion contains a sufficient number of details, and coherent details at that, to recognize its mythical content, in the case myth as explanation of ritual, a ritual of a type well-known to the student of religions as well as of cultural anthropology.

The tale has it that in the first decennies of the Roman Republic during the war with the Etruscans of Veii the *gens Fabia* volunteered to bring the war to a close. The senate accepted the offer, and cheered by the people as they passed through the Porta Carmentalis the Fabii, 306 in all (one half-grown boy left at home), marched, as Tennyson would have put it, "into the claws of Death, into the mouth of Hell" (the "noble six hundred" of the Light Brigade): on the bank of the Cremera they were lured into an Etruscan ambush and the campaign ended in the tragic annihilation of the noble 306. As a consequence, they say, the Porta was cursed, and the day entered history as a *dies ater*. The latter point, however, was already questioned in antiquity (see below).

Ettore Pais formerly was apt to reject the story as fiction; in 1940,

in co-operation with J. Bayet, he noted: "à une réalité historique (celle des luttes soutenues par une *gens* des confins) s'est mêlé le souvenir des trois cent Spartiates aux Thermopyles".¹⁾ H. Bengtson even considers the event as "nichts weniger als sagenhaft" and as exemplaric for a more conservative approach of traditional early Roman historiography.²⁾ However, as far I can gather, no one so far has been able to give a satisfactory account or explanation of the tradition. Recently R. M. Ogilvie conceded: "The Roman version, however, suffered distortion", and: "I would believe that the ill-luck connected with Porta Carmentalis had originally no connexion with the Fabii or their route" (which he rightly calls "absurd"), "and was only pressed into this service by later antiquarians".³⁾ Yet, I think, the matter under discussion may be seen as a coherent whole.

In his aetiologies of the Lupercalia Ovid uses the names *Fabios* and *Quintilios* (Fast. 2.377-78), evidently in connection with the two teams of Luperci, commonly called *Fabiani* and *Quinctiales*. It is generally agreed that Ovid did so in order to honour the *gens* of his protector and friend Paullus Fabius Maximus. The latter he certainly did in relating the story of the 306 Fabii and their glorious death in the battle at the Cremera (ib. 195-242). Traditionally, this event is dated to the 18th of July, but the tradition is suspected as brought about by the *dies ater Alliensis* falling on the same day. Ogilvie figured out that Livy's account (2.48-50) points to early spring rather than to summer, while a fragment of Licinius Macer (17P) rejects the synchronism of the Cremera and the Allia.⁴⁾ Moreover, some of the sources of Dionysius Hal. (9.19) had it that the Fabii of the legendary occasion were just about to celebrate a sacrificial rite incumbent on their *gens*. Accordingly Le Bonniec concludes: "Il ne peut s'agir que des Lupercales du 15 février: les Fabius formaient précisément l'un des deux groupes de Luperques".⁵⁾ Still, Ovid may have had good reasons for stating expressis verbis: *Idibus... haec fuit illa dies*

1) E. Pais-J. Bayet, *Histoire romaine I des origines à l'achèvement de la conquête*, Paris (coll. Glotz), 1940, 98. E. Pais, *Ancient legends of Roman history*, London 1906, 168 ff.

2) H. Bengtson, *Einführung in die alte Geschichte*, München 31959, 112. Cf. Id., *Röm. Gesch.*, München 1967, 50: „ein *dies ater* der römischen Geschichte”.

3) R. M. Ogilvie, *A commentary on Livy Books 1-5*, Oxford 1965, 364.

4) *Ib.*, 360-61.

5) H. le Bonniec, *Ovide, Les Fastes, Livre II*, Paris (coll. Erasme) 1969, 37.

(193-95). Of course, Dionysius' statement is not incompatible with this date, for Ovid has it that exactly on the Ides: *fumant altaria Fauni*. Besides, he does not explicitly mention the sacrifices at the Lupercal on the 15th of February. *Idibus* — it must be. And, I think, not only because the family tradition of the Fabii said so. That tradition may well have been stressed by the historian Fabius Pictor, but it must be as old as the cult of Faunus itself.

Nowadays there can be no doubt whatever about the chthonic nature of Faunus-Lupercus and his Luperci.⁶⁾ It is no mere coincidence in time that the 13th of February was both a red-letter day in the cult of Faunus and the first day of the Parentalia. Ovid seems to know about the connection when saying: *Mensis ab his dictus, secta quia pelle Luperci / omne solum lustrant idque piamen habent, / aut quia placatis sunt tempora pura sepulcris* (31-33). But remarkably enough, no ancient author, apparently, cared to be quite plain on that connection. Elsewhere I have circumstantially pointed out both that and why the ancients were themselves rather reticent on the matter involved: the Luperci really were representatives of the dead ancestors and in this capacity, from the 13th till the 15th of that month, secretly visited women (as the *Fauni-incubi* of popular belief were supposed to do) in order to do their fructifying work implied in the yearly rites of purifying the city.⁷⁾ That explains, for instance, how in the proceedings against Caelius Rufus one of the prosecutors, Herennius, could mention the Lupercus-ship of the accused when treating of him *de pudicitia*, that is, as an immoral character. Cicero in his defence is anxious to gloss over the matter in rather vague indications about those fellows but implying that at Rome everybody knew about their doings which dated "from before civilisation and law" (Cael. 26). From the same passage it would seem now that only one team of Luperci was involved in the "fructifying" (see n. 12), and this team may well be presumed to be the Quinctiales of Romulus, being himself a manifestation of Faunus, the great ancestor and fructifier of Rome.⁸⁾ The

6) From Schwegler (1853) on. See esp. G. Binder, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes Kyros und Romulus*, Meisenheim 1964, 40 ff.

7) A. W. J. Holleman, *Pope Gelasius I and the Lupercalia*, Amsterdam 1974, Ch. 4: "The Luperci".

8) A. Brelich, *Tre variazioni romane sul tema delle origini*, Rome 1955, 74, calls Faunus: "Lo 'Heilbringer' o eroe civilizzatore o essere iniziatore semi-divino e semiumano, teriomorfo e pronto alle metamorfosi, abitante di boschi,

later rationalizing, historicizing and embellishing of the tale about Romulus had it that his foster-mother Acca Larentia was a *lupa*, which would mean a *meretrix*, while his real mother Rhea Silvia when she got pregnant in a mysterious way, evidently as she could not name her consort, the *incubus*, selected a *deus auctor culpa honestior: Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat* (Livy 1.4.2). In spite of her doing so Rome retained the memory of a she-wolf being at the root of its existence, whether a real one or a *meretrix*. But behind those tales we can sense the original popular belief about *incubi*, mostly acting like wolves or nightmares, consorting with women during sleep. We may infer that by becoming pregnant in this way a woman became *lupa* too.⁹⁾ All over the world at the end of the year rites of elimination and purifying involve actions of so-called promiscuity, which may better be called acts of unity and union.¹⁰⁾ It transpires in the tale about the Sabine Virgins who by Ovid are rightly dragged into his aetiologies of the Lupercalia, though their barrenness there (425-52) must be an invention of the poet, inspired by the Augustan conditions of his time. The social irregularities surrounding the festival originally had nothing to do with barrenness. On the other hand, they were connected with the sacred traditions about the origin of Rome. In the light of all this the empress Messalina might well have imagined herself as playing the role of the legendary She-wolf of Rome in prostituting herself in a brothel under the cover of a *galerus* — not a “wig” but the *tegmen* of Romulus himself (Aen. 1.275) — and under the name *Lycisca* (= *Luperca*), as told by Juvenal (6.115 sqq.).¹¹⁾

If my latter inference from the Pro Caelio be correct, the team of the Luperci Fabiani must have limited its performances to the more

oracolare, donatore di allucinazioni e di incubi, insidiatore osceno delle donne, legato da singolari rapporti al mondo dei morti, ma fondatore delle più importanti e vitali istituzioni umane...”. Cf. Holleman, op. cit. 175-76.

9) Cf. Ausonius, Epigr. 24.11 f.: *Credo quod illi nec pater certus fuit, Et mater est uere lupa*. Martial 4.28 calls a profiteer-lover: *Lupercus*.

10) See e.g. E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, rev. ed. by Th. Besterman, London 1965 (= 1927), Ch. XI: “Theory of Union”, and esp. I 336-37. The American Santa Claus, for instance, is a folkloristic remnant of these customs.

11) Perhaps Juvenal did not care to understand the detail of the *galerus*, just as Tacitus did not care to understand the strains of mysticism in her act of marrying Silius (cf. A. Michel, *Tacite et le destin de l'Empire*, Paris 1966, 160 n. 163; 243 n. 289; A. W. J. Holleman, The “wig” of Messalina and the origin of Rome, *Mus. Helv.* 1975, forthcoming).

decent customs of the festival; it might be related to their supposed Sabine origin.¹²⁾ Here is where the *gens Fabia* comes in. This *gens* was of Samnite stock. But it is beyond any doubt that it had a firm connection with the Lupercalia and Faunus. No wonder, therefore, that they claimed Hercules as their ancestor, from a mysterious nightly adventure of his with an equally mysterious female consort, who presumably is correctly called Fabula or Faula. In the legends about this adventure she is presented as *meretrix*, that is, a *lupa*, of the type "with the golden heart". It is now generally agreed that this Hercules and Faunus are manifestations of the same mythical figure.¹³⁾ But, I think, a *gens* of Sabine, or at least Sabellic, origin had better eclipse the name of Faunus as its ancestor. However, Hercules' consort of that mysterious night is also called Larentia, and Plutarch (Rom. 5) by this fact was led to believe that there were two characters of this name. Of course, Acca Larentia is only a pseudo- or para-historical figure, and belongs to the sphere of ritual and myth, more specifically of the yearly regeneration. (Her sacrificial day is December 23). This sphere involves the dead and the underworld. The *gens Fabia*, therefore, was bound to have traditions relating the Fabii to the same sphere. Such may be said also in connection with their name itself. Verrius Flaccus thought: *Foui, qui nunc Fauī dicuntur, dicti quod princeps gentis eius ex ea natus sit, cum qua Hercules in fouea concubuit. alii putant cum primum ostendisse, quemadmodum ursi et lupi foueis caperentur* (P.-Fest. 77L). Lübker (Reallex. s.u., and cf. Der Kleine Pauly s.u.), combining things, notes: "so viel wie Wolfsgrubenjäger" while he renders Varro's derivation from *faba* (Pliny, N.H. 18.10) as „Bohnenpflanzer". But the two derivations seem to be quite compatible, for the same Verrius Flaccus (ib.) knows of the *faba*: *ea putatur ad mortuos pertinere*. Just as the name of the ancestress Fabula, alias Acca Larentia, is to be explained as connected with the sphere of the dead and the underworld the name of the *gens* must be related to the same sphere and Faunus. Doubtless Verrius Flaccus wrote: *Fauī*. This points to February the last month of the Roman year.

12) The Sabines were famous for their severe morals. Herennius may have participated only in the running and the lashings. Otherwise, it would be very strange that he mentioned his being a fellow-Lupercus. He was of Samnite stock.

13) Binder, op. cit. 84-88. Cf. n. 8.

That may explain the tale of the 306 Fabii who are vowed to death for the sake of Rome and its continuance. As to the number, Livy is fairly sure of his ground: *satis conuenit* (2.50.11). It must be related to the number of the days of the original Romulean year having only ten months, followed by a "dead period".¹⁴) Later antiquarians, from the third century A.D. on, computed this ten-month year at 304 days: Solinus 1.36-37; Censorinus, Nat. 20.3; Macrobius, Sat. 1.12.38. Obviously this is a scholarly construction, 304 being ten twelfths of 365. However, in an agricultural community, succeeding to a community of shepherds as the original population of the Roman hills must have been, it is much more rational that the number 306 sprang up by subtracting the total of two lunar months (59) from 365. Accordingly, in the Julian calendar the period of January-February still amounts to 59 days. Now we see that both number and day point to a ritual, an elimination-rite executed in the course of the "dead" period and ridding the community of the evils of the past year, represented by the 306 of the Fabian tale. The 300 Spartans of Thermopylae have nothing to do with that tale (Pais-Bayet).

As regards the detail of the Porta Carmentalis: though Ogilvie may be right in believing that it was an invention of later times (see above), to the student of religions it will be clear that some "gate" did play its role in the elimination-rite as disentangled from the story. Indeed, the tradition on this point is quite puzzling. Livy says: *infelicia, dextro iano portae Carmentalis, profecti* (2.49.8) while Ovid has: *Carmentis portae dextra est uia proxima Iano: ire per hanc noli, quisquis es: omen habet* (201-02). Ogilvie spends more than a page on the topographical and textual oddities implied in this tradition. But close reading suggests that it is not so much the Carmentalis as the *ianus*, through which the Fabii passed. Now, Janus rings familiar so far as the word is connected with the god who gave his name to January, the first month of the year. Though in the figure and character of Janus much is still very unclear, his representation as a double-faced head as well as in a structure called Janus Geminus, bordering on the Forum, suggests that he was "double" in that he *was* end and begin at the same time, right and left.

Connected with doors — as at Rome was also the case — this means:

14) For such a year see e.g. Frazer's commentary on the Fasti vol. II 8-29.

in and out. We may be fairly certain that the 306 Fabii, probably under the cover of the night, returned through the same gate which they passed in being eliminated. The historicizing of the myth, however, did not allow this detail to be remembered and caused the oddities mentioned above. Again, Ovid intimates that prior to the fusion of Latins and Sabines the latter did not believe Rhea Silvia as regards the fatherhood of Mars over the twins (see above). Mars himself says: *Et male credebar sanguinis auctor ego* (F. 3.190) while he as a result of the fusion admits: *Nunc primum studiis pacis, deus utilis armis, / aduocor et gressus in noua castra fero* (ib. 173-74). Plutarch (Rom. 21.1) informs us that "the Sabines adopted the Roman months". Now, if the Sabines called their first month after Janus and in the fusion with the Romans adopted March instead, conditioning Mars now to stand for a more peaceful beginning of the year, Ovid's words take on a quite unexpected meaning while the tradition of the *ianus* in the tale of the 306 Fabii is explained to all satisfaction. To a Roman, however, Janus was connected with war. Accordingly, peacemaker and antiquarian Augustus (Res Gestae 13) in boasting of his closings of the Janus Geminus calls the building Janus Quirinus. This name must denote the god who presided over peace and happiness brought back, "over the beginning of peace" (Ogilvie on Livy 1.32.9). In the same connection Horace (Odes 4.15.9) even says: *Ianus Quirini*, the Janus of Quirinus. Since traditionally Quirinus was considered to be a Sabine god (e.g. Varro in Dion. Hal. 2.48) the remarkable expressions fit in with my inference about the Janus of our tale. This Janus has a clear-cut role: the elimination of the past year means new happiness and welfare coming in. Opening and closing of it with the ancient Italians may well have been part of their New Year ritual. The romanization of the myth behind our tale meant playing havoc among its elements.

With regard to the tradition of the one boy who was left at home (Livy 2.50.11: *unum prope puberem actate relictum*), Dionysius (9.22) calls it a "theatrical fiction". Of the sophisticated poet that was Ovid it is to be expected that he would joke about the survival of the *gens* as explained by historiography: *credibile est ipsos consuluisse deos* (238). But it forced the historian Livy to inform us that in another unfortunate battle of the Romans *trecentos septem milites Romanos captos Tarquinienses immolarunt* (7.15.10) as the commander was exactly a Fabius! Obviously the tradition of the number 306 was as

firmly fixed as the connection of the Fabii with death and annihilation, or rather sacrifice.

We may now feel apt to believe that among the people from which the Fabii originated a ritual involving 300 odd men, representing the Year to be eliminated, at some historical moment was fused with the Lupercalia of the Romans. It might well have been one moment in the process of amalgamating Latins and Sabines. But probably from time immemorial, they, like the Sabine Hirpini, had a common "totem", the wolf. While their yearly "tribal" ritual now turned into "history" the Fabii retained a (Sabine?) rite of their own in *Quirinali colle* (Livy 5.46.2-3). The memory of the old ritual being lost in the fusion, that is, the myth about it, later gave birth to the tale of the 306 Fabii, or at least magnified some historical war-event into a tragedy of Roman history. However, according to Dionysius the tradition of some connection with a yearly sacrifice was not wiped out altogether. Ovid puts us on the right scent. He must have known that the sacrifice (i.e. the pursuit of new strength) of the 306 was in direct line with the Fabian activity at the Lupercalia, just another end-of-the-year rite.

As a matter of fact, Ovid seems to sense the mythical background of his own aetiologies. After giving the "historical" aetiology of the Regifugium: *Tarquinius cum prole fugit... dies regnis illa suprema fuit* (F. 2.851-52) without any transitional turn he says: *Fallimur an ueris praenuntia uenit hirundo / Nec metuit, ne qua uersa recurrat hiems* (853-54), implying by that that with the Regifugium really *winter* definitely is over. The Regifugium took place on the 24th of February, which day once was the last of the year, and as such in the Julian calendar could be replaced by the intercalary day: *bissextilis*, that is, the extra day *a.d. VI Kal. Mart.* (Fr. Bissextile). So the Regifugium really was the Flight of the Year, originally enacted by the "King". Rightly J. Heurgon notes: "Le roi n'annonçait pas seulement le calendrier; 'il le vivait' ".¹⁵⁾ This implies clearly that at Rome in historical times the proper period of eliminating the year covered the days February 13th-24th. It fits in perfectly with the widespread

15) J. Heurgon, *Rome et la méditerranée occidentale*, Paris (coll. Nouv. Clio) 1969, 205. In historical times it was the *rex sacrorum* but originally it must have been the actual King, impersonating the powers of the annual cycle. It had nothing to do with the historical expulsion, or elimination, of Tarquinius Superbus and his family. But this aetiology is typically Roman.

belief and custom of having twelve days or nights reserved for such eliminations, such as occasioned even in Christian times the feast of Twelfth Night (Epiphany). Answering the question whether the Romans or rather the Sabines were responsible for this period of twelve days (or nights) would only lead to mere guesswork. But Ovid's dating the tale of the Fabian event to February 13th, though the poet is the only one to do so, must rely on a very old and venerable tradition.¹⁶⁾ Ovid's *Fasti* indeed is a very reliable and intelligent guide to Roman religion.

F. Altheim and G. Dumézil in particular have made clear that the peculiar Roman notion of time and its chronological marks usually turned myth to history. However, in the legendary facts of Roman history as well as in the aetiologies of the rites of historical times rituals of the ancient Italians and their underlying popular beliefs are still recognizable. It was a typically Roman passion to hand down these things in some sort of historical setting. The tale of the famous 306 Fabii is no exception to this rule.¹⁷⁾ In the republican calendar: if *Regifugium* was the 59th day of the "dead" season the first of it was to be December 24. *Larentalia* then, i.e. December 23, would mean the commemorative day of the Fabian ancestress, dying on the last day of the ancient agricultural year; whose "death" was re-enacted by her "children". For obvious reasons their number was 306.

16) That in some ancient times December was the last month may be recalled by Horace, *Odes* 3.18, in imagining a sacrifice to Faunus on the *Nonae Decembres* — nowhere to be found in Italian calendars. Cf. Holleman, *op. cit.* 171.

17) The irreducible historical minimum seems to lie in the gentilician army-organization of those times. But Bengtson's relying on the day as a *dies ater* is most unfortunate. Mommsen first accepted the date July 18 (*Röm. Chron.*, 1858, 26 n. 32), later Febr. 13 (*Röm. Forsch.*, 1879, II 255 n. 42). Of the non-literary monuments only the *Fasti Antiates* has July 18. It might well have been the tradition about the *Ianus* which made Romans think of a war, especially an open *Ianus*. The historicizing must otherwise be due to the expansion of the agricultural year to 355 days (Roman lunar year), turning 306 into a mystification.

RELIGIONSWISSENSCHAFT IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE

EXCLUDING SCANDINAVIA

Some Factual Data

BY

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It has been the author's feeling that there is a certain paucity of information about the institutional setting as well as the communication media in the field of the study of religion. Although such lack of information may be felt by students of religion everywhere, paradoxically enough it is most palpable on the continent of Europe, with its different cultural traditions and its varieties of language. When we exclude Scandinavia and apply the linguistic criterion, we can distinguish for instance the French area (France and French-speaking Switzerland and Belgium), the German area (Germany and German-speaking Switzerland and Austria), the Italian area, the Dutch area (the Netherlands and Flemish-speaking Belgium), and the Slavonic area (where for this field mainly Russia and Poland are of interest).

The following data were collected when we prepared a survey on the history of religions and allied disciplines in this part of the world ¹). Many of these data are based on information kindly communicated by colleagues in other countries ²), especially for the country by country

1) This survey was published in *Religion, Journal of Religion and Religions*, Vol. V, Nr. 3 (August 1975), pp. 27-54. Pursuant to the request of the Editorial Secretary of *Religion*, this survey was limited to continental Europe excluding Scandinavia. For purely practical reasons we restricted ourselves to this area also in the present survey, trusting that it will contribute to further international exchange and cooperation between scholars all over the world. The author wants to express his gratefulness to the Editor of *Numen*, Prof. Dr. C. J. Bleeker, his old *Doktorvater*, who was prepared to publish this part of the manuscript.

2) The author wants to express his sincere gratitude for the written information and views which were kindly given by Professors U. Bianchi, K. Goldammer, J. Hadot, H.-J. Klimkeit, M. Meslin, J. Montserrat-Torrents, G. Piccaluga, G. Schmid, G. Sfameni Gasparro, K. Schubert, M. Simon, G. Stephenson and H. Wildberger.

survey in Section I: *The present institutional situation of the study of religion*. Section II, *Means of communication and documentation of completed work*, brings together the main meetings in this field organized in Europe during the last years, the main journals, book series, and bibliographies published here, plus a directory of centers for religious research and study existing in 1968.

The author apologizes for the unavoidable omissions and will be grateful for any further information at his address: 72 Stadhouderslaan, Utrecht, the Netherlands.

I. THE PRESENT INSTITUTIONAL SITUATION OF THE STUDY OF RELIGION ³⁾

(1) *France* ⁴⁾

France has in its *Section des Sciences religieuses* of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* in Paris an institution which is unique in the study of religion. *The École Pratique* was founded in 1868 to supplement research and teaching carried out at the Sorbonne, and in 1885 this section of religious studies was added to it for the study of the history of the different religions. Some forty specialists investigate and teach here almost all religions of past and present including Christianity; they work as historians either on a group of related religions or on one religion only or on a period of the history of one religion. There is a clear disinclination among the institute's scholars

3) One should keep in mind that much if not most research on religions and religion is actually carried out in Departments especially of Oriental Studies and Anthropology, but also of Sociology, History, etc. The same thing holds true for the journals in which the results of such research are published. Besides the few professional journals of *Religionswissenschaft* there are a number of journals of Oriental Studies, Anthropology, Theology, etc., in which articles on the study of religion are published. For practical reasons, however, in this report we have to limit ourselves, with some justifiable exceptions, to the institutional arrangements, journals, etc., of *Religionswissenschaft* as such.

4) See EMILE POULAT, "Le développement institutionnel des sciences religieuses en France", *Introduction aux sciences humaines des religions*, edited by H. DESROCHE and J. SÉGUY (Paris: Ed. Cujas, 1970), pp. 79-98. This paper had been published earlier by O. and E. POULAT under the same title in *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, No. 21 (1965), pp. 23-36. See also *Problèmes et méthodes d'histoire des religions*. Mélanges publiés par la section des Sciences religieuses, à l'occasion du centenaire de l'École pratique des Hautes Etudes (Paris: P.U.F., 1968). Compare *Cinquante ans d'orientalisme en France (1922-1972)*. (Numéro spécial pour le cent-cinquantième de la Société Asiatique (1822-1972)): *Journal Asiatique*, Tome CCLXI (Année 1973), Fasc. 1 à 4, 297 p.

to attempt any premature synthesis or comparisons of the different specializations. Although there are chairs for comparative work in restricted fields⁵⁾, there is no chair for comparative studies or for the treatment of systematic questions as such in the *Section des Sciences religieuses*. The subjects under investigation and discussion arise directly from the study of individual religious traditions, or rather of parts thereof. *The Section des Sciences religieuses* publishes each year in its *Annuaire* abstracts of the contents of the courses offered. In 1968, at the Centenary of the *École Pratique des Hautes Etudes* it published its "Mélanges", *Problèmes et Méthodes d'histoire des religions* (Paris: P.U.F., 1968, XII + 298 p. See the preface, pp. VII-XII).

At the University Paris-Sorbonne there is now a *Département des Sciences des Religions* where research is coordinated on religious phenomena in various cultures. In this *Département* interdisciplinary research is carried out by a number of specialists. There are three research groups, each directed by a university professor, concentrating respectively on early Christianity, on modern Christianity, and on the comparative history of religions. Participants in these research groups may or may not be associated with the national French research institution *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (C.N.R.S.) which has a scientific staff without teaching duties. The research group on the comparative history of religions concentrates on the study of religious symbols in Antiquity. Systematic studies have been made on specific symbols and a large documentation has been gathered; the publication of a Dictionary of Symbols in Antiquity is being planned. A colloquium on Symbolism took place in Strasburg in February 1974.

Important too is in Paris the *Groupe de Sociologie des Religions*. It was founded in 1954 as a research team in sociology of religions and extended its activities to the study of religion by the social sciences in general, so that in 1971 the foundation of an *Institut des Sciences Sociales des Religions* was planned. The team which pays much attention to methodological issues publishes a regular "Bulletin biblio-

5) In 1968 there were chairs for certain fields of comparative studies: "Religions comparées de l'Extrême Orient et de la Haute Asie" (Rolf A. Stein); "Religions sémitiques comparées" (André Caquot); "Religions comparées des peuples sans écriture" (Claude Lévi-Strauss); "Etude comparée des religions des peuples indo-européens" (Georges Dumézil). In 1970 moreover a *Centre d'Etudes des Religions du Livre* (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) was established.

graphique" in the *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions*; before 1973 (Nr. 35) the name was *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*. Since 1971 the team has been integrated into the C.N.R.S. Besides the *Groupe de Sociologie des Religions* there is a *Groupe Religion et Développement*, and a similar *groupe* for social psychological and experimental psychological research on religion is being established.

The only other French university which has chairs of history of religions is that of Strasburg, in the *Faculté de Théologie protestante*, in the *Faculté de Théologie catholique* (which are organized in a parallel way) and in the *Faculté des Sciences Historiques*. The first one has a *Centre de Sociologie du Protestantisme*. Besides these three chairs of history of religions there are at the University of Strasburg chairs of egyptology, of post-biblical Hebrew studies, of Arabic and Islamic studies, and of ethnology through which also research is done in the field of *Religionswissenschaft*. The scholarly work of these different chairs is co-ordinated by the university's *Centre de Recherches d'Histoire des Religions* under the patronage of the two Faculties of Theology and the Faculty of History. This Center organizes annual colloquia, the papers of which are published; up to now 17 volumes have appeared.

There are two tendencies in French studies of religion which are worth mentioning. In the first place the chairs of history of religions also comprehend the history of Christianity. This tradition goes back to Ernest Renan (1823--892) and manifested itself in the work on history of religions carried out by scholars at the *Collège de France* (Albert Réville, A. F. Loisy, H.-Ch. Puech). It also appears from the fact that all three professional historians of religion at the University of Strasburg are engaged in work on the origins of Christianity, under different angles, each one, however, viewing it from a different perspective: inter-testament Judaism, Jewish and pagan context of ancient Christianity, and gnosticism). In addition, French sociology of religion has been working specifically on contemporary Catholicism, a trend that began with Gabriel Le Bras. In summary then, much scholarly work in the history of religions carried out in France at present is directed towards the study of Christianity.

In the second place there is a tendency in France to conceive of *Religionswissenschaft* as an essentially historical or sociological field of research. Psychology and Phenomenology of religion have been less

in favour. The demand for good history is particularly evident in the work carried out in the 5th section (*Sciences religieuses*) of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, and also in the articles published in the French *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*. It manifests itself also in the way in which the three-volume work *Histoire des Religions* (Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Paris, 1970-) has been conceived, when compared with *Historia Religionum*. Similarly, the demand for good sociology is evident in the work carried out by the *Groupe de Sociologie des Religions*.

The French society for the history of religions, named "Ernest Renan", convenes once a month. A survey of its activities is published each year in the *Revue d'Histoire des Religions* and it publishes an *Annuaire*.

(2) Federal Republic of Germany (B.R.D.) ⁶⁾

In Germany there are several chairs with *Seminare* pertaining to the history of religions: at the University of Bonn one chair in the Faculty of Arts, and at the University of Marburg two chairs in the *Fachbereich* of Evangelical Theology. Marburg also has a chair for *Religionsgeschichte und Religionswissenschaft* situated in the *Fachbereich* on non-European languages and cultures. Well-known in Marburg is also the Museum of the *Religionskundliche Sammlung* founded by Rudolf Otto and definitely organized by Heinrich Frick. At present a larger *Seminar* for *Religionswissenschaft* with specialists in different fields is being built up at the University of Tübingen, and a pedagogical-theological Institute for *Religionswissenschaft* is in the planning stage at the University of Bremen. Other universities with chairs for *Religionswissenschaft* outside the Faculties of Theology are the *Freie Universität* in Berlin which has a chair of *Allgemeine Religionsge-*

6) See R. BÜREN, *Gegenwartsbezogene Orientwissenschaft in der Bundesrepublik*, herausgegeben im Auftrag der Volkswagen-Stiftung vom Deutschen Orientinstitut Hamburg (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974). See also F. OPITZ, *Die Asienforschung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Asienkunde. Hamburg, 1971). Compare G. T. MARY, ed., *Afrika-Schrifttum: Bibliographie deutschsprachiger wissenschaftlicher Veröffentlichungen über Afrika südlich der Sahara*. Band 1 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1966). Compare the call for a better organization of *Religionswissenschaft* in Germany made in 1964 by GUNTHER STEPHENSON, "Religionswissenschaft in Deutschland", *Frankfurter Hefte, Zeitschrift für Kultur und Politik*, 19. Jhr., Nr. 8 (1964), S. 567-574.

schichte, the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg with a chair of *Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, and the University of Hannover with a chair of *Religionswissenschaft und ihre Didaktik*. At the University of Heidelberg there is a chair for *Religionsgeschichte und aztekische Sprache und Kultur*, and a *Seminar* for *Religionsgeschichte und Philosophie* concentrating on India. Scholars of the Universities of Heidelberg and Freiburg i.Br. collaborate on an interdisciplinary study in the so-called "Orissa Project". The University of Göttingen has a tradition of history of religions but studies in this field are mainly carried out in connection with oriental studies; there is a *Seminar* for Indology and Buddhology. In Göttingen, moreover, there is a larger research project on syncretism in Antiquity; its support comes from the *Deutsche Forschungs Gemeinschaft*. At the University of München there is a chair in the *Fachbereich* of Theology for *Christliche Soziallehre und allgemeine Religionssoziologie*. There is also a *Seminar* here for missiology and *Religionswissenschaft* combined, a disciplinary fusion that can be found at various other German universities, like for instance in Erlangen-Nürnberg, Hamburg, Münster, Mainz, Heidelberg, Tübingen und Würzburg. At the Catholic Theological faculties in Freiburg im Breisgau and in Münster there are chairs respectively for history of religions and for *Allgemeine Religionswissenschaften*. In Saarbrücken there is a joint chair for *Religionswissenschaft* and systematic theology.

With the exception of Köln, there are no special chairs or lectureships for sociology of religion at German universities. However, there are some institutes at universities (mostly in theological faculties) that also work in sociology of religion (*Pastoral- und Kirchensoziologie*), for instance in both the Protestant and the Catholic theological faculties at the University of Münster. Other institutes have been originated by the churches for predominantly applied research in sociology of religion. Much scholarly work is done in socio-religious institutes which are part of FERES (*Fédération internationale des Instituts de Recherches socio-religieuses*). As a result of a private initiative, in 1965 the annual *International Yearbook for the Sociology of Religion* (*Internationales Jahrbuch für Religionssoziologie*) began to be published, which has become an international forum on sociology of religion. Within the German Sociological Association there is at present no longer a special group of Sociology of Religion.

For psychology of religion a German *Gesellschaft für Religionspsychologie* was founded in 1960, and the *Int. Society for Psychology of Religion* held meetings in Germany (1966 Düsseldorf, 1969 Würzburg, 1972 Berlin), of which papers were published in the *Archiv für Religionspsychologie* (Vols. 9 and 10, in 1967 and 1971). There is an institute for psychology of religion at the University of München.

Several private organizations and societies are active in promoting or carrying out the study of religion. Special mention deserve the *Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftliche Symbolforschung* in Köln, which organizes annual meetings and publishes the yearbook *Symbolon*, and the *Institut für Interkulturelle Forschung* (Institute for Intercultural Research) in Heidelberg⁷). In St. Augustin, near Bonn, one finds the Anthropos Institute of the *Societas Verbi Divini*, which publishes *Anthropos* founded by Wilhelm Schmidt in 1906. The *Fritz Thyssen Stiftung* sponsors a research project of fundamental research on theory formation with regard to religion.

The German branch of the I.A.H.R. met in Bonn in 1968, in Berchtesgaden in 1972, and in Darmstadt in 1975.

(3) Italy⁸)

There are several state universities now where history of religions can be studied. The University of Rome has in the *Facoltà di Lettere* two chairs for the history of religions outside Christianity and there is another chair for it in the *Facoltà de Magistero*. It has two specialized chairs for *Religioni dell'India e dell'Estremo Oriente*, and for *Storia religiosa dell'Oriente cristiano*, and lectureships for *Religioni del Vicino Oriente*, for *Religioni dei popoli primitivi* and for *Religioni del mondo classico*. The University of Rome has moreover an *Istituto di studi storico-religiosi*; the Universities of Messina and Padua have

7) Compare PAUL SHIH-YI HSIAO, "Der Forschungskreis für Symbolik", *Antaios*, IX, 2 (Juli 1967), pp. 101-106. Compare also other contributions to this issue (pp. 107-217).

8) See E. DE MARTINO, A. DONINI, M. GANDINI, *Raffaele Pettazzoni e gli studi storico-religiosi in Italia*. Bologna: ed. Forni, 1969. Compare the Study Conference organized by the *Società italiana di storia delle religioni* on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the death of Raffaele Pettazzoni, Rome, 6th to 8th December 1969. The papers and discussions of this Conference were edited by U. BIANCHI, C. J. BLEEKER and A. BAUSANI and published under the title of *Problems and Methods of the History of Religions* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972, X + 122 p.).

also such institutes. At present the University of Venice has a chair for the history of religions, and the Universities of Padua and Trieste have lectureships for it. The University of Naples has a specialized chair of *Religioni del mondo classico*. It is hoped that in the course of 1975 four new chairs may be established in the Universities of Rome for *Religioni del mondo classico*, of Naples for *Religioni dell'India e dell'Estremo Oriente*, of Siena (Arezzo) for history of religions, and of Venice for *Religioni dell'India e dell'Estremo Oriente*. In addition, instruction in history of religions is given at the Universities of Cagliari, Florence, Lecce, Naples, Palermo, Perugia, Torino and Urbino. It is also taught at the Catholic University of Milan which has an Institute of Religious Studies, and at the official ecclesiastical universities *Gregorianum* and *Lateranum* in Rome. Research on history of religions is carried out implicitly at the Pontifical Institutes of Biblical Studies and of Arabic Studies (including Islam). The Vatican has a study department in its Secretariate for non-Christians.

Through its oriental studies, the *Istituto Orientale* in Naples contributes to the study of oriental religions, and the same holds true for the *Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente* with regard to the religions of the Middle and Far East. At the *Centro Camuno di Studi Preistorici* in Valcamonica research is carried out on prehistoric religions. It organized in 1968 an international Symposium of Prehistoric Art, and in 1972 the first international Symposium on the Religions of Pre-History. It was at that occasion that the *International Association for the Study of Prehistoric and Ethnologic Religions* (IASPER) was founded.

Research in sociology of religion is done at some universities and at some church institutions⁹⁾. There are chairs for the history of Christianity (apart from those of ancient Christian literature) at the Universities of Rome (two chairs), Naples, Padua, Trieste and Torino. The Catholic University of Milan has a chair for the Origins of Christianity.

As an important private initiative mention should be made of the annual international colloquia organized in Rome since 1960 by the

9) These institutions are members of FERES and connected with the Catholic Church: *Centro Internazionale di Ricerche Sociali* (CIRIS), *Servizio Documentazione e Studi* (SEDOS), *Istituto Ricerche Applicate Documentazioni e Studi* (IRADES).

Centro Internazionale di Studi Umanistici and the *Istituto di Studi Filosofici* of the University of Rome, under the inspiration of Enrico Castelli. These colloquia represent the meeting of specialized research and broad philosophical humanistic culture. Among the subjects of discussion have been problems of demythologization, hermeneutics of theological language, religious authority and a number of other issues in the philosophy of religion. The latter is a flourishing field in Italy and is sometimes connected with the study of religion. The papers of the colloquia in Rome have been published in an Italian and also in a French edition; publication of a selection of these papers in English translation is in preparation. There are at present two societies in Italy for the history of religions: the *Società italiana di storia delle religioni* and the *Associazione Raffaele Pettazzoni per la storia delle religioni*.

(4) *The Netherlands*¹⁰⁾

Coming to the smaller countries, one must say that the Netherlands has, comparatively speaking, favourable arrangements as far as the number of chairs in the history of religions is concerned. At present the state universities of Leiden and of Utrecht, as well as the (municipal) University of Amsterdam have each two chairs: one for the history of the religions of Antiquity around the Mediterranean, and one for the history of religions existing at present; the state University of Groningen has for these disciplines a chair and a readership respectively. The University of Utrecht has moreover a special chair for the religions of Hellenism. The two confessional universities, the neo-Calvinist "Free University" (*Vrije Universiteit*) in Amsterdam and the Catholic University of Nijmegen, both financed by the state now, each have one chair of history of religions. All these chairs have been established in the Faculties of Theology which are in this country part of the state universities; in this arrangement the history of Christianity and the history of Judaism, however, falls outside the history of reli-

10) See D. J. HOENS, "The Netherlands", in CLAUDE WELCH, *Graduate Education in Religion. A Critical Appraisal* (Missoula: University of Montana Press, 1971), pp. 157-161. Compare JACQUES WAARDENBURG, "Religion between Reality and Idea. A Century of Phenomenology of Religion in the Netherlands", *Numen*, XIX, 2-3 (Aug.-Dec. 1972), pp. 128-203. See also O. SCHREUDER, "Trends in the Sociology of Religion in the Netherlands, 1960-69", *Sociologia Neerlandica*, VI (1970), pp. 129-136. A study on the history of the scholarly study of religion in the Netherlands is prepared by H. BUNING.

gions. Most chairs of history of religions also incorporate phenomenology of religion. A chair of sociology of religion exists in the Faculty of Theology in Leiden, and psychology of religion is taught in some Faculties of Theology. Outside the Faculties of Theology, posts for sociology of religion and to a lesser extent anthropology of religion exist in some Faculties of Social Sciences. Needless to say that research done on non-Western culture areas (in the Faculties of Arts, especially in Leiden but also in Utrecht for Indology) and in anthropology and sociology (in the Faculties of Social Sciences) contributes to *Religionswissenschaft*.

The University of Groningen has an Institute for the study of Qumrān texts, and also an Institute for the study of Religious Iconography, with an elaborate documentation on religious iconographic materials including a large collection of photographs and slides. This Institute publishes the series *Iconography of Religions*, since 1970. In Groningen is also the new Anthropological Museum "Gerardus van der Leeuw"; its collection is property of the University of Groningen, with a foundation "Gerardus van der Leeuw" being keen on expanding it. In 1968 the "Groningen Working-Group for the Study of Fundamental Problems and Methods of Science of Religion" constituted itself, working with a functional model of religion and advancing methodologically an intrinsic systematic study of religion (*systematische godsdienstwetenschap*). Some papers of the group were published in a volume *Religion, Culture and Methodology* (1973).

At the state University of Utrecht a similar interdisciplinary working-group was organized somewhat later; this group works on relationships between official and popular religion in religions in different culture areas. A group of scholars of the Institute for Eastern Languages at this university prepares the edition of Tantric texts and is planning to publish a handbook on the history of Tantrism. At the University of Leiden a critical edition of the Peshitto text of the Bible is prepared. An Institute was established to study the relations between Islam and Christianity, with a specific research project on their historical relations in medieval Spain. At the Catholic Faculty of Theology in Tilburg a research project started on new forms of religion.

The Free University in Amsterdam is the only university in the country which has an interdisciplinary Institute for the Study of Reli-

gion (*Instituut voor Godsdienstwetenschap*); the three Faculties of Theology, Arts and Social Sciences participate in it. Attention is given here to issues of dialogue between people of different faiths and religions, especially Christianity and Islam. This Institute publishes a valuable bibliographical *Literatuur Bulletin* on books and articles of the study of religion.

The Dutch study group on sociology of religion meets three times a year. A group of members carries out an investigation on new forms of religion in the West, "Views on life and faith" (*Levensbeschouwing en geloof*), with emphasis on methodological issues. The *Katholiek Sociaal-Kerkelijk Instituut* (KASKI) in the Hague, established by the Roman Catholic Church and member of FERES (*Fédération internationale des Instituts de recherches socio-religieuses*) carries out inquiries in the field of Church sociology.

The Dutch society of historians of religion (*Nederlands Genootschap van Godsdiensthistorici*) convenes twice a year.

(5) Belgium

The private Free University of Brussels, a double institution of Walloon and of Flemish language, has a chair for the history of religions. The Walloon *Université Libre de Bruxelles* has an *Institut du Christianisme*, an *Institut Oriental*, a *Centre pour l'Étude des Problèmes du Monde Musulman contemporain*, and a *Centre des Hautes Études Juives*. Research posts exist under the patronage of the *Fonds National Belge pour la Recherche Scientifique*.

History of religions is taught furthermore to some extent at the Flemish state University of Ghent, with emphasis on Classical Antiquity, and at the Walloon state University of Liège, with emphasis on ancient Iran and ancient Near Eastern religions. The private Catholic University of Louvain, also a double institution of Walloon and of Flemish language, has some instruction on other religions than Christianity in its Faculty of Theology, but research on Eastern religions takes place mostly at the Institute of Oriental Studies. This university has a chair of psychology of religion, with a *Centre de psychologie religieuse* at the *Institut de psychologie*.

Sociology of religion has its place within the framework of general sociology. To the Catholic University of Louvain of Flemish language belongs the Sociological Research Institute (*Sociologisch Onderzoeks-*

instituut) with interests in sociology of religion; and the *Centrum voor Socio-Religieus Onderzoek*; to the same university of Walloon language belongs the *Centre de Recherches socio-religieuses de Louvain*. The latter two institutes are members of FERES (*Fédération internationale des Instituts de Recherches socio-religieuses*); at the last one the secretariat of FERES is established. This Center was founded in 1956 and integrated in the university in 1964, under the patronage of the Faculties of Theology and of Social Sciences. Its Flemish part became integrated in the Flemish Faculty of Theology in 1966; its Walloon part continues its work on an interdisciplinary basis and studies forms of religious behaviour as integral parts of cultural phenomena. The Center has responsibilities in the editing of *Social Compass* and in preparing the publication of the *World Christian Handbook/Bilan du Christianisme 1970-1980* (German edition *Handbuch des Weltchristentums 1970-1980*), which should appear in 1975. This handbook is the successor of the earlier editions of *Bilan du monde: Encyclopédie catholique du monde chrétien* (1960 and 1964) and of the *World Christian Handbook* (1947, 1952, 1957, 1962 and 1967).

The Belgian society for the history of religions "Théonoé" is integrated in the *Société belge d'études orientales*. At the request of the President of the I.A.H.R. the holder of the chair of the history of religions at the Free University of Brussels is revivifying the Belgian branch of the I.A.H.R. Belgian sociologists of religion of Flemish language are members of the Dutch Study group on sociology of religion.

(6) *Switzerland*

There are no special chairs for history of religions at Swiss universities. It is taught in theological faculties, mainly in conjunction with the chair of Old Testament or by scholars who have a profession outside the university; it may also be connected with missiology or philosophy of religion. Research in this field is done to a large extent in Faculties of Arts, in connection with classical studies or studies of eastern culture areas. In this respect the University of Zürich (Indology, Chinese and Japanese studies, Akkadian studies, Greek religion, Islamic studies with Arabic and Persian) should be mentioned in the first place. There is a chair of Islamic studies in Basel where much

attention is given to the *Religionsgeschichte* of Islam. At the University of Lausanne research in history of religions is done on Hinduism in the Faculty of Theology. In the University of Geneva there is a chair combining Islamic studies with history of religions. The private Catholic University of Freiburg has courses on history of religions and anthropology of religion. At the Tibet Institute in Rikon research is carried out on Tibetan religion. The World Council of Churches in Geneva has a study department for the dialogue with other faiths. The *Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Asienkunde/Société Suisse d'Études Asiatiques* publishes the quarterly *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques*. For church sociology there is the Catholic *Kirchensoziologische Forschung und Beratung* in Zürich, which is a member of FERES (Fédération internationale des Instituts de Recherches socio-religieuses).

Special mention must be made of the *C. G. Jung Institut Zürich*, founded in 1948 as a center for research and training in analytical psychology. On the one hand this has been the main institution carrying out research in psychology of religion mainly in the line of C. G. Jung; on the other hand specialists in the history of religions like Karl Kerényi — living as a private scholar in Ascona until his death in 1973 — have been teaching and doing research from time to time at the institute. Such lectures are published in the series *Studien aus dem C. G. Jung Institut Zürich*.

A unique place in this field of studies have the Eranos meetings (*Eranos Tagungen*) held annually in Ascona since 1933; the papers read and discussed here have been published in the Eranos Yearbooks (*Eranos Jahrbücher*). The meetings of the Eranos group evidence great interest in the findings of *Religionswissenschaft* and represent the meeting of specialized research and broad spiritual humanist culture. More and more attention has been given to subjects of history of religions and religious phenomenology, often with an interest in problems of the study of gnosis.

(7) Austria

Research and teaching of *Religionswissenschaft* in Austria are carried out partly in the (Catholic) Faculties of Theology and partly in specialized institutes for oriental studies or anthropology. There are no special chairs for history of religions at Austrian universities.

The University of Vienna has a tradition of studies on Classical Antiquity and on anthropology (*Institut für Völkerkunde*), on Islamic languages and history (*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*), on Judaism (*Institut für Judaistik*) and on south and far eastern studies (*Orientalisches Institut*, also for Islamic languages and history). In Salzburg the *Institut für Religionswissenschaft und Theologie* is connected with the Faculty of Theology of the University of Salzburg, and with the private Catholic *Internationales Forschungszentrum für Grundfragen der Wissenschaften*.

The University of Innsbruck is known for its Akkadian studies. At the University of Graz research is carried out on South and East Asia (Buddhism, China, Japan), on Classical Antiquity and in the field of Byzantine Studies. The *Archiv für Orientforschung* and the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens* are published here.

The *Institut für Kirchliche Sozialforschung* in Vienna has been established by the Roman Catholic Church and is a member of FERES. It works on church sociology.

The central office of the *Österreichische Gesellschaft für Religionswissenschaft* is in Salzburg. The journal *Kairos* is published under its auspices and is specialized since 1969 in biblical history of religion in the widest sense of the word (*Biblische Religionsgeschichte*).

(8) Spain

In Spain teaching of history of religions is limited to about six Catholic Faculties of Theology. Research pertaining to *Religionswissenschaft* takes place largely within the context of classical studies, Islamic studies, anthropology, and history of philosophy. The *Sociedad española de Orientalistas* is established in Madrid.

The (Catholic) *Instituto de Sociología y Pastoral Aplicadas* in Barcelona is a member of FERES and works on church sociology.

Since 1972 the *Sociedad de Història de las Religiones* has promoted the interest in history of religions. Its main office is in Barcelona where it offers courses in ancient religions and languages and where the annual meetings are held.

(9) German Democratic Republic (D.D.R.) ¹¹⁾

¹¹⁾ See KURT RUDOLPH, *Die Religionsgeschichte an der Leipziger Universität und die Entwicklung der Religionswissenschaft*. Ein Beitrag zur Wissenschafts-

At the Karl Marx University in Leipzig there exists a chair of *Religionsgeschichte* in the Department of History. It has a corresponding *Fachbereich für Religionsgeschichte* where research is carried out on the religion of the Mandaeans, on Manichaeism, Gnosticism and Islam, and in the field of the history and comparative study of religions generally, including problems of methodology. This chair of history of religions has a great tradition and maintains its international reputation.

At the same university sociology of religion is taught in the Department of (Evangelical) Theology. Here is done some editorial work for the *Theologische Literatur Zeitung* which publishes also extensive reviews of publications in the field of *Religionswissenschaft*.

(10) *Poland (P.R.L.)* ¹²⁾

In the Institute of Sociology and Philosophy in Warsaw, which is part of the Polish Academy of Sciences, there exists a section of Theory and Methodology of the study of Religion (*Sekcja Teorii i Metodologii Religioznawstwa*). Research and graduate teaching is carried out here on sociology of religion, on history of religion (especially Christianity), and much attention is given to the methodology of *religioznawstwa* ("religiology"). The Institute publishes since 1969 the half-yearly *Studia Religioznawcze* (Religiological Studies).

In Warsaw is the central office of the Polish society of *Religioznawstwa* (since 1958). Here is also the editorial office of the quarterly *Euhemer: Przegląd Religioznawczy* (Euhemer: Journal of Religiology, since 1957), with a number of Polish contributions, and also with information on research and philosophy of religion in other socialist countries ¹³⁾, and on trends in *religioznawstwa* in Western countries.

geschichte und zum Problem der Religionswissenschaft. (Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Band 107, Heft 1). Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962, 190 p. Compare also KURT RUDOLPH, "Leipzig und die Religionswissenschaft", *Numen*, IX (1962), pp. 53-68.

¹²⁾ See PIOTR O. SZOLC (SCHOLZ), "Religionswissenschaft in Polen", *Numen*, XVIII, 1 (April 1971), pp. 45-80. See also W. PIWOWARSKI, "Publications de sociologie religieuse en langue polonaise 1961-1968", *Social Compass*, XV (1968), pp. 293-294.

¹³⁾ See for instance in *Euhemer* of 1969, Nr. 1-2 (Nrs. 71-72), pp. 193-206, the important bibliography compiled by HENRYK SWIENKO, "Wierzenia ludów Syberii i radzieckiego Dalekiego Wschodu. Bibliografia prac radzieckich za lata 1917-1967" ("The beliefs of the peoples of Siberia and of the soviet Far East. The bibliography of soviet publications from 1917-1967").

Occasionally translations from work in other languages are published.

In Poland considerable research is done in sociology of religion and there are regular meetings of specialists; the trends of research here are comparable with similar trends elsewhere. At the (private) Catholic University of Lublin there is a chair of sociology of religion since 1960.

(11) *Yugoslavia* ¹⁴)

The Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts is undertaking to edit all major sources on neo-Manichaeism (Greek, Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, Coptic and possibly Sogdian). On this project is working a team of scholars and research fellows.

In Serajewo is an Oriental Institute which is mainly devoted to Ottoman, Arabic and Persian studies. Founded in 1950, it is the only one of its kind not only in Yugoslavia but in the Balkans as a whole.

Presently at the Institute is also working Mr. Salih H. Alich who is the bibliographer of the I.A.H.R. He would appreciate to be informed about publications in the field of history of religions in different parts of the world, for the sake of a better and more complete international bibliography in this field. His address is: Mr. Salih H. Alich, c/o Orijentalni Institut, Veljke Čubrilovića 5/III, 71000 Sarajevo, Yugoslavia.

(12) *Russia (U.S.S.R.)* ¹⁵)

Universities in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries have chairs of Scientific Atheism in the Philosophical Faculty, and may have Study Departments on Atheism and Religion, where problems of the origin, development and decline of religion are treated.

14) See MARCO ORSOLIC, "La sociologie de la religion d'inspiration marxiste en Yougoslavie", *Social Compass*, XX, 1 (1973), pp. 73-82. Sociology of religion in Yugoslavia apparently has a more independent position than it has in other socialist countries.

15) See for instance "Sociologie de la Religion en U.R.S.S./Sociology of Religion in U.S.S.R.", in *Social Compass*, Vol. XXI, Nr. 2 (1974), pp. 115-206. This issue contains translations of six articles from Russian into English or French, in the field of sociology of religion. From time to time, Russian studies on religion are published in English translation in *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology* and in *Soviet Sociology*, both published by Int. Arts and Sciences Press, Inc., New York, since 1962.

Research and teaching are carried out along both philosophical (marxist-leninist) lines and along lines of empirical research; both are intimately connected. Empirical research is done in studies of ethnology (e.g. on Siberian peoples), of Asian and African societies (including their forms of religion), and in general sociological work. In Moscow there is the Institute for Scientific Atheism, which is part of the Academy of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. Mention should also be made of Lomonosow University which has a chair for scientific atheism including sociology of religion, and the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences which has an Institute of Oriental Studies and an Institute of Sociology where religion and atheism in different societies are studied. Research on sociology of religion is sponsored also by the Soviet Sociological Association, of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

Additional mention may be made of the "Museum of the History of Religion and of Atheism" in Leningrad, with a library and other research facilities. In Russia there are several museums of ethnography which contain collections of religious materials.

II. MEANS OF COMMUNICATION AND DOCUMENTATION OF COMPLETED WORK

(1) *Meetings*

Meetings of scholars in *Religionswissenschaft* have been organized in Europe by the *International Association for the History of Religions (I.A.H.R.)*:

- 1964 Study Conference in Strasburg on Initiation
- 1966 Study Conference in Messina on the Origins of Gnosticism
- 1970 XIIth International Conference of the I.A.H.R. in Stockholm
- 1973 Study Conference in Turku on Method in Science of Religion
- 1975 XIIIth International Conference of the I.A.H.R. in Lancaster

by the *Conférence Internationale pour la Sociologie de la Religion (C.I.S.R.)*

- 1969 Xth International Conference of the C.I.S.R. in Rome on "Types, dimensions et mesure de la religiosité" ("Types, Dimensions and Measure of Religiosity").
- 1971 XIth International Conference of the C.I.S.R. in Opatija on "Religion et religiosité, athéisme et non-croyance dans les sociétés industrielles et urbanisées" ("Religion and Religiosity, Atheism and Non-belief in Industrial and Urban Society").
- 1973 XIIth International Conference of the C.I.S.R. in the Hague on "Métamorphose contemporain des phénomènes religieux?" ("The Contemporary Metamorphosis of Religion?").

by the *International Sociological Association (I.S.A.)* with its *Research Committee of the Sociology of Religion*:

1969 International Conference of the I.S.A. in Varna

by the *International Association for the Study of Prehistoric Religions*:

1972 1st International Conference in Valcamonica

by the *Centre de Recherches d'Histoire des Religions in Strasburg*:

"Colloques annuels" in Strasburg

by the *Union Européenne d'Arabisants et d'Islamisants (U.E.A.I.)*:

1966 in Ravello

1968 in Coimbra

1970 in Brussels

1972 in Visby and Stockholm

1974 in Göttingen

by the *Centro Internazionale di Studi Umanistici* and the *Istituto di Studi Filosofici* in Rome:

Annual Colloquia in Rome

by the *Eranos* group:

Annual *Eranos Tagungen* in Ascona

International Colloquia of Sociology of Religion in Socialist Countries were held:

1965 in Jena

1966 in Prague

1968 in Budapest

1969 in Moscow

(2) *Journals* (with editorial residence)

Anthropos. Ephemeris internationalis ethnologica et linguistica. (St. Augustin; since 1906)

Archiv für Religionspsychologie (München; since 1960)

Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions (with "Bulletin bibliographique", Paris; since 1973; appeared 1956-1972 under the title of *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*)

Euhemer. Przegląd Religioznawczy (Warsaw; since 1957)

Kairos. Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft und Theologie (Salzburg; „Neue Folge" since 1959)

Numen. International Review for History of Religions (Amsterdam; since 1954)

Religioni e Civiltà (Rome; since 1972, appeared 1924-1971 under the title of *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, of which it constitutes a "nuova serie")

Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses (Strasburg; since 1921)

Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (Paris; since 1880)

Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa (Torino; since 1965)

Social Compass. International Review of Socio-Religious Studies (with "Bibliographie Internationale de Sociologie des Religions"/"International Bibliography of Sociology of Religion") (Louvain; since 1954)

Theologische Literaturzeitung (with "Bibliographie"; Leipzig; since 1876)

Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft (Münster; since 1885)

Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte (Erlangen; since 1948)

(3) *Book series* (with editors as far as known)

Classici delle Religioni (Torino, U.T.E.T. = Unione Tipografica — Editrice Torinese)

Eranos Jahrbücher (Leiden, E. J. Brill. Until Vol. 39 (1970): Zürich, Rhein Verlag)

Etudes Préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain (M. J. Vermaseren; Leiden, E. J. Brill)

Genèses (Henri Desroche; Paris, Ed. Cujas)

History of Religions. Supplements to Numen (C. J. Bleeker; Leiden, E. J. Brill)

Iconography of Religions. Publication of the Institute of Religious Iconography, State University of Groningen (Leiden, E. J. Brill)

Internationale Jahrbücher für Religionssoziologie (Köln-Opladen, Westdeutscher Verlag)

Książki i Wiedzy (Book and Cognition) Series "R" and series "r" (Z. Poniatowski; Warszawa, Książki i Wiedzy)

Mana. Introduction à l'histoire des religions (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France)

Marburger Studien zur Afrika- und Asienkunde (H. J. Greschat et al.; Marburg an der Lahn, im Selbstverlag)

Mythes et Religions (G. Dumézil; Paris, Presses Universitaires de France)

Nisaba. Religious Texts Translation Series (Leiden, E. J. Brill)

Religion and Reason. Method and Theory in the Study and Interpretation of Religion (J. D. J. Waardenburg; The Hague-Paris, Mouton)

Religion and Society (L. Laeyendecker & J. D. J. Waardenburg; The Hague-Paris, Mouton)

Religion et Sociétés (Jacques Maitre & Emile Poulat; Paris-Tournai, Casterman)

Die Religionen der Menschheit (C. M. Schröder; Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer)

Les religions de l'humanité. French translation of volumes of the series *Die Religionen der Menschheit*. (Paris, Payot). Compare also certain volumes in the series "Bibliothèque historique" and the series "Bibliothèque scientifique", published by Payot

Sources chrétiennes. (Paris, Editions du Cerf)

Sources orientales (Paris, Editions du Cerf)

Storia e scienza delle religioni (G. Castellino; Torino, Unione Tipografica — Editrice Torinese)

Supplementa ad Numen, altera series. Dissertationes ad historiam religionis pertinentes (C. J. Bleeker; Leiden, E. J. Brill)

(4) *Bibliographies* (prepared in continental Europe excluding Scandinavia)

"Bibliographie internationale de Sociologie des Religions/International Bibliography of Sociology of Religion". Regularly published in *Social Compass*

Bibliographie zur Symbolik, Ikonographie und Mythologie. Internationales Referatorgan. Unter Mitarbeit zahlreicher Fachgelehrter herausgegeben von Manfred Lurker. Baden-Baden, Heitz (since 1970: Valentin Koerner). Annually since 1968.

This bibliography stresses the interdisciplinary character of the study of symbols taken in a broad sense. Since Volume 3 (1970) it appears as a year-book and contains also articles.

This publication is a sequence of Manfred Lurker's *Bibliographie zur*

- Symbolkunde* which appeared in three volumes (Baden-Baden, Heitz, 1964, 1966 and 1968)
- "*Bulletin bibliographique*". Regularly published in *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* (since 1973) and the *Archives de Sociologie des Religions* (until 1973)
- Bulletin signalétique*. (Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique). See sections "Sciences religieuses", "Sociologie" and "Ethnologie"
- Carrier, Hervé (with Emile Pin and Alfred Fasola-Bologna), *Sociologie du christianisme. Bibliographie internationale. Supplément 1962-1966/Sociology of Christianity. International Bibliography. Supplement 1962-1966*. Rome, Presses de l'Université grégorienne, 1968
- Henrichs, Norbert, *Bibliographie der Hermeneutik und ihrer Anwendungsgebiete seit Schleiermacher*. Düsseldorf, Philosophie Verlag, 1968
- International Bibliography of the History of Religions/Bibliographie Internationale de l'Histoire des Religions*. Published by the International Association for the History of Religions. Prepared by Salih H. Alich (Leiden, E. J. Brill).
- Reports on new publications can be sent directly to Mr. H. Alich, c/o Orijentalni Institut, Veljke Čubrilovića 5/III, 71000 Sarajevo, Yugoslavia
- International Bibliography of Social and Cultural Anthropology*. Prepared by the International Committee for Social Sciences Documentation. / *Bibliographie Internationale d'Anthropologie Sociale et Culturelle*. Etablie par le Comité International pour la Documentation de Sciences Sociales. (*International Bibliography of the Social Sciences / Bibliographie Internationale des Sciences Sociales*). (London, Tavistock Publications; Chicago, Aldine Publishing Company). Annually. See especially Section F: *Religion, Magic, and Witchcraft / Religion, Magic, Sorcellerie*
- Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie / International Folklore and Folk-life Bibliography / Bibliographie Internationale des Arts et Traditions Populaires*. Ouvrage publié par la Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore sous les auspices du Conseil International de la Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines et avec le concours de l'Unesco. Im Auftrag der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde bearbeitet von Robert Wildhaber. Bonn, Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1970
- Literatuur Bulletin*. Instituut voor Godsdienstwetenschap. Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam
- Nowaja sovietskaja i inostranaja literatura po voprosam ateizma i religii*. Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut Nauchnoi Informacii po Obshchestwennym Naukam. Moskva, 1962- . (*New Soviet and Foreign literature on the problems of atheism and religion*. Published by the Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences, of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. Moscow, 1959-)
- Waardenburg, Jacques, *Bibliography*. Volume 2 of *Classical Approaches to the Study of Religion. Aims, Methods and Theories of Research*. The Hague-Paris, Mouton, 1974

(5) *Research centers*

- Directory of Centers for Religious Research and Study*. Louvain, Centre de recherches socio-religieuses, 1968.

A NOTE ON P. BEROL. 9794

BY

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The presence in P. Berol. 9794 of a hymn from the tractate *Poimandres* has been noticed by several writers.¹⁾ P. Berol. 9794 is a third-century collection of hymns which Cabrol and Leclercq think was designed not for public liturgical use but as 'l'euchologie d'une réunion matutinale domestique'; the presence of such expressions as

τοῦ ἁγιοπάτου παιδός
σ[ου] Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
καὶ ἀρχιῤατροῦ τῶν ψυχῶν [ἡ]μῶ[ν]

(lines 37-39),

Ἄγιος εἰ κύριε θεός
παντοκ[ρ]άτωρ [καὶ πατήρ τ]οῦ
κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ

(lines 61-62), and

καὶ νῦν δι[α]θ[ήκ]η

(line 74) in the other two hymns which are decipherable clearly show that it was intended for Christian use. The purpose of this note is to locate the context in which a Christian author might plausibly have incorporated an hermetic prayer into his hymnal.

1) R. Reitzenstein and P. Wendland, 'Zwei angeblich christliche liturgische Gebete', *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Philologisch-historische Klasse), 1910, pp. 324-34; F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Reliquiae liturgicae vetustissimae* (Monumenta Ecclesiae liturgica, I ii), Paris 1913, pp. CLXXXIX-CXCII; C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks*, London 1935, pp. 194-200. Text of P. Berol. 9794 in C. Schmidt and W. Schubart, *Altchristliche Texte* (Berliner Klassikertexte VI), pp. 110-117; and in *Patrologia Orientalis* XVIII (ed. C. Wessely). Translation in L. Deiss, *Hymnes et prières des premiers siècles*, Paris 1963, pp. 183-86. Text of *Poimandres* (Corp. Herm. I : 1-32) in A. D. Nock and A.-J. Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum* Tome I (Coll. Budé), 1945. Translation in W. Foerster (ed.), *Gnosis* I (1969, ET 1972), ch. 21.

Frederik Wisse has suggested ²⁾ that by the time of Irenaeus a blending of Christian and non-Christian gnosticism had begun, and that this is visible in some of the Nag Hammadi documents, for example in the 'crude christianization' of the Apocryphon of John which is done by 'supplying a Christian framework for a non-Christian tractate and identifying Christ with one of the beings in this mythology'. R. McL. Wilson has suggested ³⁾ that part of the third-century Gospel of Mary is the christianisation of an hermetic text. The Sophia Jesu Christi, dated by M. Krause to the third century, is held by him to be the christianisation of the Epistle of Eugnostus. ⁴⁾

In my opinion, P. Berol. 9794 is a further epiphenomenon of this christianising tendency within third-century gnostic groups. The *Poimandres* hymn, with its strongly monotheistic character and its plea that the suppliant may not fall away from the gnosis of his own nature, has scarcely been altered: the only significant changes are the additions of the opening words and the concluding doxology, and even these do not make the hymn specifically Christian. The fact of its inclusion indicates a gnostic provenance for the papyrus; in more 'orthodox' circles a pagan hymn would surely have been subjected to far more drastic surgery, if indeed it would have been utilised for worship at all. Its inclusion in the worship of Christian gnostics, however, is by no means unlikely, given the existence of a trend to christianise texts far less attractive to Christians — the importance of this text is that it is perhaps the first such christianisation of a liturgical text.

2) 'The Nag Hammadi Library and the Heresiologists', *Vigiliae Christianae* 25 (1971), pp. 205-23.

3) 'The New Testament in the Coptic Gospel of Mary', *New Testament Studies* 3 (1957), pp. 236-43; cf. also his article, 'Gnosticism in the light of recent research', *Kairos* 13 (1971), pp. 281-88.

4) M. Krause in W. Foerster (ed.), *Gnosis* II (1971, ET 1974), ch. 2.

PTAH, CREATOR OF THE GODS

RECONSIDERATION OF THE PTAH SECTION OF THE *DENKMAL*

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The Ptah section of the Shabaka stone has largely influenced the theories on Egyptian religion. It has been regarded as a systematic account of Egyptian cosmogonic mythology, and the image of Ptah has, through numerous treatises on the section, asserted itself as that of a creator. An especially comparative interest has been taken in the text, because Ptah is said to create by his word; and parallels have been drawn with the Jewish conception of the word as a creative instrument. However, the greater part of the interest aroused by the Ptah section is due to its value as a document of Egyptian religion.

The Shabaka text is written on a rectangular stone of black granite, measuring 92 × 137 cm (British Museum, No. 498). It is written in vertical columns and reads from the left. Parts of it are obliterated. On the top of the stone are two horizontal lines announcing that the text was written anew from an old book damaged by worms, by orders from king Shabaka (25. dyn.), who placed the stone in the temple of Ptah in Memphis.

The left-hand section of the stone deals with the mythical conclusion of peace between Seth and Horus, and with the unification of the two countries by Horus; the text especially stresses that Memphis is the scene of these happenings; it also associates another mythical event with the town: Osiris' drifting ashore and being buried in Memphis. The account of this last episode is repeated verbatim at the end of the right-hand section of the stone, and with it the Shabaka text concludes. The rest of the right-hand section constitutes the so-called "Ptah section"; it deals with the creative activities of the town god of Memphis.

The text was first published in 1837 by S. Sharpe (Egyptian Inscriptions from the British Museum and other sources, I. series, 36-38, London), but a successful translation was not offered until 1902, when J. H. Breasted published his translation (The Monist, vol. 12, 321 ff),

his new text publication having appeared in 1901 (ZÄS, 39). In 1911 A. Ermann presented the results of his examinations of the text, under the title of "Ein Denkmal memphitischer Theologie" which has become one of the most common designations of the text (SPAW, 43). A text publication with a translation was given by K. Sethe in 1928 (Untersuch. X, Leipzig; reprinted in Hildesheim 1964). H. Junker published in 1940 a translation of the Ptah section which he called "Die Götterlehre von Memphis" (APAW, 23, 1939, Berlin 1940), and in 1941 a translation of the left-hand section of the stone, which he called "Die politische Lehre von Memphis" (APAW, 6). — An English translation has been given by J. A. Wilson (ANET, 3. ed. 1969, 4 f), and one by M. Lichtheim in 1973 (Ancient Egyptian Literature, vol. 1, Los Angeles. London).

As regards *subject matter* the Ptah section is commonly held to be a cosmogony: Ptah first creates the gods, that is: the powers behind the cosmic processes; he then creates the contents of cosmos: living creatures, plants, activities going on there.¹⁾—It is the view of this article that the subject matter of the section is in its essence not a cosmogony but a theogony. The author presents Ptah as the creator of the life of the gods. The theogony is seen from a cultic point of view, everything that Ptah creates is associated with the cultic life of the gods.

The *purpose* of the text has often been discussed. Without going into the problematic question of the relationship between the Ptah section and the left-hand section, the following views might be mentioned. Two of them consider the purpose polemical: the text asserts the supremacy of the Memphite theological system over the Heliopolitan ²⁾, or it has the political aim of claiming the hegemony of Memphis and its priesthood over Heliopolis and its priesthood³⁾. A third theory regards the text as a philosophical treatise with the purpose of presenting an

1) See p. 17f with notes.

2) Erman: The text is "ein Produkt tendenziöser Theologie, die dem Gott vom Memphis eine höhere Stellung im Pantheon anweisen wollte" p. 917. Sethe: p. 79f.

3) Junker regards the text as "ein neues Dogma mit politischem Hintergrund" p. 6. (ref. to Sethe, p. 5) Cf. too, p. 77. Holmberg sees it as a "polemical treatise directed against Heliopolis" pp. 19, 121. H. W. Fairman: "The whole inscription is propaganda in favour of Ptah of Memphis in opposition to the rising power and influence of Re and the priesthood of Heliopolis." The Triumph of Horus, London 1974, p. 3.

ontology⁴).—It is the view of this article that the text has a religious purpose, probably of a cultic-theological kind. The text is a temple text (written down and set up in the temple of Ptah), and it places its subject matter within a cultic frame of reference.

As to the *dating* of the text there is a tendency to regard it as very old, most opinions agree on the Old Kingdom; Sethe even goes as far back as to the first dynasty. The language is archaic, it is similar to that of the Pyramid texts. The dating to an early period also finds support in the introductory lines which declare that Shabaka wrote it down from an old book “made by the ancestors”. What these introductory words really imply, is a question that has to be considered, but they do not in themselves prove that the text is older than the time of Shabaka⁵).

As the text is not being commented on consecutively but systematically, it is presented here in its entirety, in translation:

- 48) *The gods have come into existence from Ptah*
- 49a) Ptah on the great seat
- 50a) Ptah-Nun, the father (who begot) Atum
- 51a) Ptah-Nunet, the mother who bore Atum
- 52a) Ptah the great, he is the heart and the tongue of the ennead
- 49b) who created the gods
- 50b) who created the gods
- 51b)
- 52b) (Nefer)tem at Re's nose every day,
- 53) who is the heart and the tongue in the guise of Atum. Great and powerful is Ptah who transferred (to) all (gods) their kas, through this heart and through this tongue . . . through which (= the heart) Horus came into being, and through which (= the tongue) Thot came into being, from Ptah.
- 54) Power was created in all limbs through the heart and the tongue, on the grounds that it is he (= Ptah) who is in every body and in every mouth of all gods, all people, all cattle, all reptiles: all that live, thinking and commanding everything he wills.

4) Breasted characterizes it as “the oldest known formulation of a philosophical *Weltanschauung*”, and his title of the text is “The Philosophy of a Memphite Priest.” p. 39.

5) Cf. note 80.

- 55) His ennead in front of him (has come into being) through the teeth and the lips, that is Atum's semen and hands, for as the ennead came into being through his semen and fingers, so also is this ennead the teeth and the lips in this mouth which pronounces the name of all things and from which Shu and Tefnut emanated who gave birth to the ennead.
- 56) The eye sees, the ear hears, the nose breathes; they report to the heart; it is this (= the heart) which causes all cognition to originate, and it is the tongue which repeats the thought of the heart.

And all the gods, Atum and his ennead were created; indeed, every divine word came into being through the thought of the heart and the command of the tongue.

- 57) And the kas were made, and the hemsets appointed, who produce all provisions and all food through this word.⁶⁾. And all work and all crafts were created, the doings of the arms, the walking of the legs, the movement of the limbs, in accordance with the commanding word, which is thought by the heart and which has come forth on the tongue and which determines the quality of everything.
- 58) It has been said of Ptah (that he is) 'he who made Atum and caused the gods to come into existence'; for he is Tatenen who created the gods. All things have emanated from him, as regards
- 59) food and provisions, that is 59) the food offerings of the gods and all good things. And it was realized that his power is great with regard to the gods. And then Ptah rested, after having made all things and all divine words: Truly, he created the gods, he made all the cities, he founded the nomes, he placed the gods in
- 60) their shrines, 60) he established their offerings, he founded their chapels; he made their bodies in agreement with the wishes of their heart; and the gods entered their bodies of every kind of wood, every kind of stone, every kind of clay: everything that
- 61) grows on him. 61) They came into existence there.

6) The following words are not translated because of their obscurity: *irr mrr.t mšd.t šw di cnh n hrj htp šw di mw.t n hrj hbn.t*. Sethe thinks that the text is elliptic, and translates: "(Und so wird Recht gegeben dem), der tut, was geliebt wird, (Unrecht gegeben dem), der tut, was gehasst wird. Und so wird Leben gegeben dem Friedfertigen, Tod gegeben dem Verbrecher." p. 64.

I. *Ptah as creator of the gods*

The creation dealt with in our text is first and foremost a creation of the gods. Their coming into existence is mentioned in lines 48, 50a, 49b, 50b, 55, 58, 59, 61, and is expressed through the two common concepts of theogenesis, *hpr* and *msj*.—The theogonic theme is presented in the very first line of the text, 48. A precise understanding of this line is most important; it reads:

The gods have come into existence from Ptah.

Our first problem is raised by the subject *ntr.w*, “the gods”, and the question is which gods are referred to. The immediately following lines run:

- 49a) Ptah on the great seat
- 50a) Ptah-Nun, the father (who begot) Atum
- 51a) Ptah-Nunet, the mother who gave birth to Atum
- 52a) Ptah the great, he is the heart and the tongue of the ennead
- 49b) who created the gods
- 50b) who created the gods
- 52b) (Nefer)tem at Re's nose every day

It appears that the creation of Atum is mentioned in 50a and 51a, the creation of the “gods” in 49b and 50b, theogony is the content of 52a also, as will be seen the line expresses the creation of the ennead. In these lines Ptah is at the same time identified with Nun and Nunet; it is through these identities that he gives origin to Atum. It might be possible that the *ntr.w* given existence in 49b and 50b are the same *ntr.w* as are given existence in the introductory line 48, so we will start by asking who are these *ntr.w* in 49b and 50b. Apparently they stand parallel to *psd.t*, “the ennead”, in 52. “Ennead” is the Heliopolitan designation of the gods occupying the genealogical position between the source of origin and the rest of pantheon which is *ntr.w* and which is probably the *ntr.w* created in 49b and 50b. At the same time the ennead is an outline of the structure of the whole pantheon⁷⁾, so that both genealogically and structurally the creation of the ennead implies the creation of the whole pantheon, and the *ntr.w* of 49b and 50b might therefore refer to the entire pantheon. At any rate, the *ntr.w* of 48 most likely refer to this, for the line is written as if it were a heading⁸⁾, and

7) E. Hornung: Der eine und die viele, Darmstadt 1971, pp. 217, 219.

8) Cf. Breasted, Tafel II.

the text to follow presents a creation of the pantheon in its entirety, even if the latter can in other instances be said to consist of *psd.t* and *ntr.w*⁹⁾, and possibly so in the lines 50a-50b.

The second problem in the introductory line 48 concerns the phrase *m Pth*. What does it mean that the gods have come into existence *m Pth*? The phrase may be taken in a locative sense: "in Ptah", conveying the meaning of identification: to become Ptah. This is Sethe's interpretation, he translates: "Die Götter, die in Ptah Gestalt gewonnen haben"¹⁰⁾, which is "zu Ptah geworden sind"¹¹⁾, *hpr m* being alternatively translated "zu etwas werden"¹²⁾. This interpretation is connected with the view that the *ntr.w* of 48 refers to the gods with whom Ptah in the following lines is identified¹³⁾. Junker, too, regards the *ntr.w* of 48 as the gods with whom Ptah is identified in the following lines¹⁴⁾. If, however, we interpret *ntr.w* as the gods that Ptah *creates*, we shall have to reject the translation "in Ptah", because nowhere in the Ptah-text do we find the notion that these gods are *in* Ptah, while on the contrary, it is often emphatically asserted that Ptah is in the gods he has created¹⁵⁾. As for the afore mentioned theory concerning the identity of the *ntr.w* it should be noted that the identifications of 50a and 51a—which are the only clearly expressed identifications in this passage—do not state that Nun and Nunet have become Ptah, but that Ptah has become these divinities, a fact which is not exclusively formalistic and without any theological purport.—Erman translates *m* = "out of", "from"¹⁶⁾: "Götter, die aus Ptah entstanden"¹⁷⁾, and this translation seems more apposite, as the notion of "issued from" Ptah has connotations which link it with *msj* in 51a, 49b, and 50b, and also with the special mode of creating which our text presents, namely that

9) l. 56, l. 58.

10) Sethe p. 47.

11) Sethe p. 47.

12) Sethe: "Das Verbum *hpr* ist in der Anwendung, in der wir es finden, also ein spezifischer Ausdruck der dogmatischen Theologie, der das erklären soll, was wir bei der Betrachtung der ägyptischen Religion als Angleichung, Verschmelzung, Identifikation, Synkretismus bezeichnen" p. 47.

13) Sethe p. 47.

14) Junker p. 18f.

15) Cf. especially l. 54.

16) Wb III 261, 14. Cf. Ph. Derchain: Le papyrus Salt 825, Bruxelles 1965: VI 5 (Académie royale de Belgique): "Il est issu de Ra (*hpr=f m Rc*) pour renverser ses adversaires au moyen de lui" p. 139.

of bringing forth the creative word¹⁸).—Lastly, there is the possibility that *m* has an instrumental meaning, “through”: “The gods have come into existence through Ptah”. The case is weak, as *m* is used with a person; it is, however, not without precedent¹⁹).

The third and most difficult problem in line 48 is to find the precise meaning of *hpr.w*. Junker in actual fact ignores the word. His translation “Die Götter, die in Ptah Gestalt haben”²⁰), practically reduces the word to a copula. Thus *hpr.w* is at the most superfluous, rather grammatically disturbing; *ntr.w m Pth* would have sufficed. *Hpr.w* obviously carries weight. This linguistic conclusion agrees with the subject matter: Within a theogonic context *hpr* most likely relates to genesis.—The only question is which grammatical form *hpr.w* represents, which tense it refers to, and what is the precise meaning of the word. The grammatical form can be a participle or a pseudo-participle. The latter alternative would make the statement an independent one: The gods have come into existence²¹). The meaning is the same in both cases, and the alternative does not bear upon the function of the sentence within the text.—The tense is independent of the mentioned alternative. “Have come into existence” is most in line with the text to follow.—The lexical problem turns on the question of *genesis* or the more subtle *form*. The most common meaning is *genesis*²²).

On these premises a certain coherence emerges out of 48 ff. 48 establishes by way of introduction the theogonic theme: From Ptah all gods have come into existence. Then follows a definition of Ptah, informing us that we are here dealing with the Ptah of the “great seat”: *Pth hrj š.t wr.t*, i.e. Ptah as connected with the special chapel of that name²³).

17) Erman p. 935. — His theory of eight “Formen des Ptah” having issued from an “Ur-Ptah” seems, however, unnecessary.

18) Cf. too, the use of *prj* to denote the coming into existence in l. 58.

19) Cf. Pyr. 308 e (Spruch 258), where *m* is used instrumentally with a person; in Sethe's translation: “Seine Schaden ist getilgt durch die beiden Weihen des Osiris” (*m dr.tj Wsir*).

20) Junker p. 17.

21) But cf.: Gardiner³ §311; Edel: Aäg. §590.

22) Wb. III 26off.

23) J. Assmann: Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott. Münchner Aegypt. Studien 19. Berlin 1969: “Der Teil des Tempels, in dem das Ritual sich vollzieht, das Allerheiligste” p. 248. A. R. David: Religious Ritual at Abydos. Modern Egypt. Series, ed. H. S. Smith, Warminster 1973, p. 98, sc. 9. M. Alliot: Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées. 1949-54. Bibl. d'études inst. franc. d'arch. orient. XX.

Next comes an exposition of Ptah's theogonic nature. Characteristically it opens with Ptah's qualification of Nun, by the formula *Pth Nwn*. Ptah is identified with the primeval source of origin of the gods; it is to be noted that according to Egyptian ontogeny Nun is not only the cosmic substratum, but, and primarily, *it ntr.w*, the originator of all divine beings. In the parallel line 51a he is further identified with Nunet, by the formula *Pth Nwn.t*. Through this identification an intended androgynical effect is obtained, in Ptah are united all procreative qualities. The notion that pantheon originates in a primeval pair is a tradition so much alive that the mythographer wants to apply it to his Ptah. Here in particular, where the perspective is explicitly theogonic, the formation in pair at the initial stage comes natural. The remaining halves of these two lines define Nun/Nunet precisely as the primeval procreators of the gods: They have begot and given birth to Atum.

52a brings in Ptah with a new epithet: *wr*, "the great". From the analogy to the two preceding lines this epithet could be understood as a designation of a separate divinity²⁴), with whom Ptah is here identified. However, a god with this name has not been reliably established, the instances evaluated seem rather to imply that *wr* is the epithet of one or another god. The epithet is possibly laudatorial, but it has to be remembered that Old Egyptian lacks the superlative, which can be expressed only through the positive form of the adjective; it is therefore possible that *wr* declares Ptah to be the greatest of all gods²⁵).

The predicate in 52a characterizes Ptah as *h3tj pw ns pw n psd.t*, "he is the heart and the tongue of the ennead". These words present two central concepts in our text, the heart and the tongue; they will be treated more fully as we proceed. Here the attention should be directed toward the ennead, and the question is in what relationship to the ennead Ptah is here placed. It seems probable that 52a stands in structural parallelism to the preceding and following lines which all declare that Ptah is creator of gods. The general idea in 52a is then that Ptah originates the ennead in his capacity of being its heart and tongue, these are his creative organs.

24) Junker p. 25.

25) *Wr* might relate to Atum or to Nun. Nun is sometimes called *wr* (Sethe: Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis. APAW 1939, p. 145), but the equation with the heart and the tongue of the ennead does not harmonize with the Nun aspect.

Unfortunately the following lines are incomplete, but the topic continues to be the origin of the gods.

From 50a up to and including 52b we have then through a series of different theologumina a presentation of Ptah as originator of all gods. With that the introductory thesis of 48 is explicated: The pantheon has come into existence from him. The main theogonic idea of the passage is advanced by the identification of Ptah with Nun. As far as the text is preserved, this passage deals altogether with theogony. Nothing is said about Ptah being “Urgrund aller Dinge und Schöpfer aller Dinge”²⁶), only about his being the source of origin of the gods. Ptah is in other words ascribed the part otherwise acted by Nun in Egyptian theogony. There is of course a particular intention behind a theogony of this kind, it is not an emotional homage from a devotional priest, but a deliberate building up of a Ptah-theology that has to be understood in relation to the following text. It is true that the passage “als Grundlage für die im folgenden Hauptstück geschilderte Schöpfungstätigkeit des Gottes dienen soll”²⁷), but only the text that follows can explain what it actually implies.

From the theogonic theme in 48 ff we turn to its next occurrence, in 55, where the creation of the ennead is more elaborately commented on:

His ennead in front of him (has come into being) through the teeth and the lips, that is Atum's semen and hands, for as the ennead of Atum came into being through his semen and fingers, so also is the ennead the teeth and lips in this mouth which pronounces the name of all things, and from which Shu and Tefnut emanated who gave birth to the ennead.

“His ennead” and “in front of him” clearly refer to Ptah; thus both Atum and Ptah are mentioned in this passage. The theologian's intention is to equate the theogeneses of the two primeval gods. He achieves this by saying that the origin of the ennead through the teeth and the lips (of Ptah) is the same as its origin through the semen and hands of Atum. There are here hardly two enneads (viz. Ptah's and Atum's) set against each other, but neither are the two modes of creating set against each other for the purpose of rejecting one of them, namely Atum's, though the text could be translated so as to support this interpreta-

26) Junker p. 39.

27) Junker p. 39.

tion²⁸). Such a conception is out of keeping with the initial equation of the two modes of creating, and also with the following statement about the mouth.—With “teeth and lips” the articulation of the word is alluded to, the latter part of the passage gives us reason to believe this; though it is a bit confusing that elsewhere in the text it is the tongue which is associated with the word²⁹). It seems reasonable, however, to assume that the teeth and lips are here the organs of the word, just because an identification between the two god’s acts of creation is aimed at in this passage³⁰).

The author next refers to the theogony myth traditionally attributed to Atum, and which is the underlying cause to the equation being effected by introducing Ptah’s teeth and lips—the implied Atum theogony develops over two stages, 1: Atum masturbates, 2: he spits out again from his mouth the semen as Shu and Tefnut, the mouth thus functioning as a womb. It is the mouths of Ptah and Atum which serve as the connecting link between the two theogonic images; the author says that “the ennead is (also) the teeth and lips in this mouth” and immediately goes on by identifying the two mouths with each other: “which pronounces the name of all things and from which Shu and Tefnut emanated”. In order to equate Atum’s complex act of creation in two stages with the simple pronunciation of the word, the author uses the formal device of letting teeth and lips correspond to semen and hands, while the utterance of the word corresponds to the spitting out of the semen.

With this identification the author has managed to attribute theogonic functions to Ptah’s word.

28) Cf. Sethe p. 78f. His interpretation of the passage translates *hm* = “however”, “but” (Wb III 78), while we have translated “for” (Wb III 78 : *hm* = “nämlich”, “und”). — Sethe’s translation of the whole passage is then: “Es entstand ja die Götterneunheit des Atum durch seinen Samen und seine Finger. Die Götterneunheit (des Ptah) aber sind die Zähne und die Lippen in diesem Munde” p. 57. — Junker is of the same opinion: “Wenn wir den in prägnanter Redeweise abgefassten Text in ausführlicherer Sprachweise wiedergeben, lautet er: ‘Seine Neunheit ist vor ihm, geschaffen durch sein Wort= seine Zähne und Lippen, die dem Phallos und den Fingern des Atum entsprechen. Es soll ja (wie man in Helopolis sagt) die Neunheit durch den Phallos und die Finger des Atum entstanden sein. In Wirklichkeit aber ist die Götterneunheit entstanden durch das Wort = Zähne und Lippen in diesem Munde, der alle Dinge benannte usw.’” p. 55.

29) See 53, 54, 56, 57, 58.

30) Cf. Sethe p. 57f.

The last words in the passage: *mś-n psd.t* have been variously interpreted³¹). They could be seen as parallel to *mś ntr.w* in 56: "and the gods were created", the idea being that with the creation of Shu and Tefnut the ennead is coming into being. It is, however, just as possible that the words make a relative clause with the subject omitted, to be connected with Shu and Tefnut or with Tefnut only³²).

The meaning of the passage is that Ptah's mouth gives origin to the ennead. In order to explain this theologically, the author has to harmonize this conception with the traditional myth of the ennead's origin through Atum. This he achieves by letting all Atum's creating organs correspond to one organ of Ptah, his mouth. There were three organs through which Atum operated, the hands, the penis, and the mouth; these three together correspond to Ptah's mouth: Atum's hands and penis are equated with Ptah's teeth and lips, while Atum's mouth is identified with Ptah's mouth. In this way the complex two-stage activity of Atum (masturbation and spitting out) is made equivalent to one single act of Ptah (pronunciation), and probably the Ptah-theologumenon maintains the two-stage procreation as Atum's masturbation and spitting out are parallel to articulation and utterance respectively.

1. 56: And all the gods, Atum³³) and his ennead were created.

31) Sethe connects the words with the following statement on the sense organs and translates: "Die Götterneunheit schuf das Sehen der Augen, das Hören der Ohren, ...". p. 59. Junker's counter argument is: "Zu allererst schafft die 'Götterneunheit' überhaupt nicht, zumal nicht nach unserer Lehre, die ausdrücklich alle schöpferische Wirksamkeit dem Herz und der Zunge oder dem aus ihnen hervorgehenden 'Gotteswort' zuschreibt". Junker connects *mś-n* with *r pn*, as he considers the connection with Shu and Tefnut to be unlikely, like Sethe he reasons that "dabei unter 'Neunheit' nur die sechs letzten auf Shu und Tefnut folgenden Glieder der Göttergesellschaft verstanden wären" p. 58, ref. to Sethe: p. 59. Erman connects *mś-n* with Shu and Tefnut, p. 939.

32) Cf. J. Zandee: Sargtexte, Spr. 77 (Coffin Texts II 18), ZÄ 100, Berlin 1973.

33) Junker here offers another translation of *tm*: "in ... *tm* liegt vielmehr das Verbum *tm* 'vollständigen sein' in der *sdm=f*-Form vor" p. 60. To the translation of *tm* = "Atum" he objects that it overlooks the fact that "diese Schreibung von der sonst üblichen abweicht" — the text usually adding the determinative of 'god' to *tm* = "Atum". As *tm* without a determinative is a not uncommon way of writing Atum (Wb I 144), and as our text is not always consequent in its writings — though Junker claims it to be so as regards the names of gods — the translation of "Atum" is to be preferred, because this one is after all the most likely considering contents, and "zwingende Gegengründe" do not exist to apply Junker's argument for the opposite standpoint. The lack of determinative indicates rather that the author refers to Atum.

“All gods, Atum and his ennead” designates the pantheon in its entirety, while at the same time specifying it. Line 56 sums up Ptah’s theogonic activities described in the preceding lines. The creation of Atum ties up with 50a and 51a and manifests Ptah’s function as Nun/Nunet. The creation of the ennead ties up with 55, with reservations for what may have been said in the lacunae, and manifests Ptah’s function as Atum. In other words, Ptah is identified with Nun as well as with Nun’s son Atum, and the problem is how we are to understand this theocracy—what, actually, do these “identifications” imply? The text keeps to the genealogical order of the “Heliopolitan” system, so when Ptah is identified with both first and second generations, the idea appears to be that he is the creative capacity in Nun as well as in Atum.

1. 58: It has been said of Ptah³⁴) : (that he is) “he who made Atum ³⁵) and caused the gods to come into existence”.

hpr-n dd should be understood as preterital, and taken by itself it can allude to older traditions as well as to the preceding text. As the purport of the clause is the same as what has been previously asserted, the latter suggestion is to be preferred.

That this assertion is now recapitulated, is due to the fact that the intervening passage has carried us away from the main theme, and that the author now wants to go more thoroughly into Ptah’s theogonic role, namely by relating it to Tatenen.

1. 58: For he is Tatenen, who created the gods.

Tatenen designates Ptah as the producer of the crops, or if preferred: Ptah as the earth god. The designation does not, however, imply any mythology of the origin of the gods, whether through Ptah or through other primeval powers. Tatenen is simply the rich earth. The author here presents Ptah as Tatenen because he wants to connect the two ideas—originator of the gods and originator of the crops—the idea obviously being that Ptah’s role as theogonian is manifested in his

34) The object is as usual placed before the adverbial expression.

35) Junker translates *tm* = “das All”: “Man nennt Ptah: ‘Der das All schuf und die Götter hervorbrachte.’” p. 63. It is to be expected, however, that the author would have written the word differently if he meant “das All” to avoid the inevitable confusion with Atum. The sequence of the words also indicates that *tm* is not “das All”.

function of Tatenen. In what sense Tatenen can be said to be “creator of the gods” is explicated by the following sentence:

All things have emanated from him, as regards food and provisions, that is the food offerings of the gods and all good things.

The turn taken by the thought here is of utmost importance to our understanding of the whole text. The earth god Ptah is not a different god from the god of the theogony. The two aspects belong together, and the author to all appearance wants to elucidate and support his thesis of Ptah as theogonian by pointing to the god’s importance as sustaining source of divine life, i.e. in the cult. All terms of nutriment used here relate to the offerings to the gods, even the summarizing *ih.t nb.t nfr.t*, a ritual formula applied to the offering gifts and analogous to *ih.t nb.t bnr.t*, “all sweet things”—the concluding formula of the offering lists, summing up the enumerated food gifts³⁶). The mythological aspect of the earth god Ptah bringing the offering gifts is expressed by the word *prj*, a term describing Ptah as the ultimate source from which all divine life emanates.

The author dwells upon Ptah’s nature and qualities of earth god in another few sentences, then he suddenly states:

59) Truly, he created the gods!

But for the train of thought pointed out above, this statement would have been curiously out of place. Sethe’s commentary accordingly is: “Unser Text bleibt seiner Neigung, ohne jede vernünftige Disposition zu erzählen, auch hier treu. Nachdem er eben glücklich die ganze Schöpfung berichtet hat, greift er nun wieder auf einen Teil zurück”³⁷). Naturally, the same theogony that has hitherto been dealt with, is here the subject matter, and we cannot explain the words away by assuming that the attention is now given to “fetischisch-tischen Lokalgottheiten”³⁸). The text here presents Ptah as the organizer of the Egyptian cultus, he

made the cities, he founded the nomes, he placed the gods in their shrines, he established their offerings, he founded their chapels. (l. 60)

36) W. Barta: Die altägyptische Opferliste. Münchner Aegypt. Studien 3, Berlin 1963, p. 43. Wb I, 124.

37) Sethe p. 68.

38) Sethe p. 68.

The theogony is this time not connected with the produce of the earth, but with the ritual life in general. The establishment of the cultus here described is introduced by the sentence:

Truly, he created the gods,
and the relationship between this introduction and the rest of the passage is that the theogony formula places the cultus under a mythological perspective. With that we have got still another face of the mythologeme: As in 58 the theogony was expounded by reference to the sustenance of the gods, it is here related to the temple institution. True, this institution includes the offering ceremonies—he established their offerings—but the author aims at another vital constituent which he is just as anxious to link with the theogony:

he made their bodies in agreement with the wishes of their heart; and then the gods entered their bodies.....

To Egyptian thought existence and body are one and the same phenomenon. Ptah is creator of the gods' existence in the sense that he is the creator of their bodies. He exerts this function in his capacity of Tatenen, an entity which is not only the source of sustenance, but also the source of the materials of which the divine bodies are made:

and then the gods entered their bodies of every kind of wood, every kind of stone, every kind of clay: everything that grows on him;

the last words clearly show that Ptah is thought of as the earth god. The following and concluding sentence is:

They came into existence there.

II. *The kind of life created by Ptah*

Theogony is the main theme. This theme is evolved throughout the whole Ptah text, from the introductory words of 48:

The gods have come into existence from Ptah,
up to the concluding words of 61:

They came into existence there.

All that Ptah creates is within this theogonic frame and must be understood accordingly.

Consequently, the essence of the account is not that it is a cosmogony,

as is usually maintained. The view is held by i.a. Junker, who paraphrases the opening passage in this way: "Urgrund aller Dinge und Schöpfer aller Dinge ist Ptah allein. Das ist es, was der erste Abschnitt dartun will, und was als Grundlage für die im folgenden Hauptstück geschilderte Schöpfertätigkeit des Gottes dienen soll"³⁹). Junker's heading to the lines 48-52b runs: "Ptah als Allgott"⁴⁰). He maintains his interpretation with great consistency, thus he translates 58: "Man nennt Ptah: 'Der das All schuf und die Götter hervorbrachte' "⁴¹), a rendering of *tm* which supports the theory of cosmogony. Holmberg too, conceives the text as a cosmogony: "Ptah is thus stated in this text to have created both as a father and as a mother and to have created the universe"⁴²)—and "we find in the Shabakatext and occasionally in later texts the idea that Ptah has created the world by the thought of his heart and the word of his tongue"⁴³). J. A. Wilson's presentation of the text in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament* says: "Here the god Ptah conceives the elements of the universe with his mind (= heart) and brings them into being by his commanding speech (= tongue)"⁴⁴).

The text contains a cosmogony in so far as every theogony implies one. The determining factor, however, is the scope and the function of the text, in other words what the author's attention is directed towards. This is not the cosmos as such, his concern is not the world coming into existence but the gods and their cultus coming into existence. It is a modernism inspired by a theology and a philosophy alien to our text to interpret it in terms of a general cosmogony. All acts of creation are seen from the theogonic point of view, and get their meaning from this. Such is the case even with the creation of provisions and food, of work and crafts, and of cultus in general.

The creation of *provisions and food* is mentioned in 57 and 58. In 57 it is referred to by the following words:

Then all the kas were made, and the hemsets appointed who produce all provisions and all food through this word.

39) Junker p. 39.

40) Junker p. 16.

41) Junker p. 63.

42) Holmberg p. 52.

43) Holmberg p. 31.

44) *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton 1969, p. 4.

In 58 the words read:

All things have emanated from him, as regards food and provisions, that is the food offerings of the gods and all good things.

ih.t nb.t, "every thing", and *ih.t nb.t nfr.t*, "every good thing", are in actual fact clearly ritual terms. The concepts usually invite a cosmogonical interpretation, being understood as vague summaries of all phenomena and good things in the world. Sethe, for instance, is of the opinion that an "anderen" is implicit in the meaning of *ih.t nb.t nfr.t* and translates: "allen (anderen) guten Dingen"⁴⁵), thus striking the generally cosmogonic tone: "Aus dem Schöpfer sind alle Dinge, die die Natur hervorbringt, hervorgegangen"⁴⁶). Here, as well as elsewhere where these terms occur, they should be considered contextually. In this case the context is one of food and offerings; the words refer to everything belonging to this context. As pointed out above (p. 13) *ih.t nb.t nfr.t* should be understood as the concluding summary of the food offerings. It is the sustenance of the divine life that Ptah creates here.

All *work and crafts* are created in 57-58:

And all work and crafts were made, the doings of the arms, the walking of the legs, the movement of the limbs, in accordance with this commanding word which is thought by the heart and which has come forth on the tongue and which determines the quality of every thing.

The words "the doings of the arms, the walking of the legs, the movement of the limbs" point *ipso facto* to the generally anthropological image of the functioning of the body, but it is clear from what is said beyond that in the passage that the work executed by the body is also—and primarily—thought of: The passage opens with a comment on work and workmanship, and closes with

which determines the quality of everything,

words which concern the products; the "commanding word" determines what they shall be like.—Junker thinks that the passage belongs to a "Naturlehre über die Bedeutung von Herz und Zunge im menschlichen Körper", and is accordingly driven to maintain that "Eine unmittelbare Beziehung zu der Gotteslehre lässt sich hier schlechthin nicht herstellen"⁴⁷). There is, nevertheless, an underlying connection be-

45) Sethe p. 66f.

46) Sethe p. 78.

47) Junker p. 62.

tween this passage and the theogony. The passage is immediately followed by the statement noted above that Ptah is called "He who created Atum and caused the gods to come into existence" (58); this statement in turn is followed by the presentation of Ptah as Tatenen—the source of all food and offerings. This latter act of creation is, as we have seen, explicitly connected with the gods' cultic life, being the most important precondition of the offering institution. In 57-58 too, the author prepares for the presentation of the ritual side of the theogony, which he deals with in 60-61; and the lines can be understood only in the light of these lines.

The creation of the *cultus* is treated of in 59-60-61:

Then Ptah rested, after having created all things and all divine words. Truly, he created the gods, he made the cities, he founded the nomes, he placed the gods in their shrines, he established their offerings, he founded their chapels; he made their bodies of every kind of wood, every kind of stone, every kind of clay, everything that grows on him. They came into existence there.

The first sentence of the passage states that Ptah rests, and with that is proclaimed the final phase of the creation. The next sentence, the *sdm-n=f*-sentence, states which work he is resting from, and it sums up all his creating activities. The following sentences then specify these activities in seven *momenta*. Lastly, the result of the activities as regards pantheon is given.—The summing up of Ptah's creating activities is expressed through the two concepts *ih.t nb.t*, "all things", and *mdw ntr nb*. The concept of *mdw ntr*, "divine word", alludes to the ordinances of the ritual life, with "all divine words" is meant all ritual institutions, the expression could be translated "all divine ordinances". *Ih.t* denotes a concrete object⁴⁸), *ih.t nb.t* denotes the cultic requisites that are specified in the following lines. These two general designations of Ptah's production thus summarize everything belonging to the ritual order, in accordance with the juridical and the technical aspects respectively: Ptah organizes and equips the Egyptian cultus in its totality.—What the author has in mind, is shown by the last sentence of the passage, which looks at these organizing activities from the viewpoint of the other gods:

Then the gods entered their bodies of every kind of wood, every kind of stone, every kind of clay, everything that grows on him.....

48) Wb I, 124.

The statues of the gods are the manifestation of the established divine order. The aspect of handicraft is pronounced. This takes us back to the question we left unanswered: The creation of all work and crafts (57-58) is the necessary prerequisite of the establishing of the offering institutions.

The specification of Ptah's creation opens with the words *išk mš-n = f ntr.w*, "Truly, he created the gods", and closes with *hpr-n = sn im*, "they came into being there". This means that the establishing of the cultus is intimately bound up with the mythical theme of theogony. The concluding passage of the Ptah section ends with the introductory theogonic theme. What has happened on the way is that the theogony has taken a concrete turn and concerned itself with the procurement of the material preconditions of the cultus—food, crafts, etc. That this turn does not imply a change of subject matter but is an exposition of the very same theogony is apparent from the fact that the theogonic theme is again explicated at the end: Our author does not regard the transcendental origin of the gods and their ritual establishment as two distinct themes, but as two aspects of one and the same theme; the genesis of the gods is just as much an empirical, ritual phenomenon as a speculative, mythical one. This contamination has its roots in the Egyptian's idea of god which to them is not an abstract mythical being, but a manifest power in the social life of men. It can hardly be doubted that here is the climax and the aim of the account.

With that, new light is also thrown upon the composition of the section, which is not so arbitrary as it might seem⁴⁹). Also, some obscure passages in the text can be elucidated when seen from this theogonic viewpoint, *i.a.* 53—a passage following next to the introductory presentation of Ptah as creator of the gods:

49) Among others Junker thinks so: "Es besteht aber auch ein ganz tiefer innerer Gegensatz zwischen dem vorliegenden Abschnitt und der grosse 'Lehre von Memphis', ebenso wie bei dem ersten Teil von Zeile 58-59; auch in 60-61 ist nicht mehr von dem befehlenden Worte des Gottes die Rede, das alles ins Dasein gerufen hat. Ausdrücklich wird der Gott wiederum als lebenspendende Erde aufgefasst: 'alle Dinge, die auf ihm wachsen'. Der Abschnitt passt nicht zu dem früheren Schilderungen des Schöpfers Ptah, er gleicht mehr den üblichen Lobreden auf den Gott von Memphis, ohne irgendeine Spitze gegen die Lehre von Heliopolis." p. 65. — Junker is of the opinion that the text is a fusion of two different treatises, one on religious subject matter, the other of a more scientific kind: "Es wechseln also Abschnitte mit religiösem Inhalt mit Anderen ab, die Naturbeobachtungen mitteilen. Die Teile heben sich so scharf von einander ab, dass jede Versuch einer Verbindung vergeblich ist." p. 70.

who is the heart and who is the tongue in the guise of Atum. Great and powerful is Ptah who transferred (to) all (gods) their kas, through this heart and this tongue through which (=the heart) Horus came into being, and through which (=the tongue) Thot came into being, from Ptah.

It is difficult to translate the passage, owing among other things to lacunae preceding it and within it. It is possible that the words connect with the statement on Nefertem in 52b, having a content to the effect that Nefertem was created through the heart and tongue; it is, however more likely that here is expressed the same identification between Ptah and these organs which was made in 52a, where Ptah was said to be "the heart and the tongue of the ennead". The context into which the heart and tongue are placed there indicates that they are organs of creation: through them the ennead has come into being. The creative activity of these organs is then in 53 defined as a transmittance of kas.

m tjt Tm is translated "in the guise of Atum", but can as well be translated "namely: Atum's *symbol*", as *tjt* has this meaning, too⁵⁰); the first line would then read: "who is the heart and who is the tongue, namely, Atum's symbol"—a translation which agrees with the author's tendency to equate Ptah with Atum⁵¹). "In the guise of Atum" is chosen because this translation falls into line with an idea that is to be developed by the author in the very next passage, 54: Ptah is said to be *in* all gods and all who have heart and tongue, because he is himself their heart and tongue. According to both translations Ptah is equated with Atum. By regarding Ptah as Atum's creative organs, Ptah is conceived as the theogonic power. This is for the sake of clearness underlined by the last two words of the passage:

— through which Horus came into being, and through which Thot came into being, from Ptah.

This final emphasis on Ptah may seem unnecessary, but might indicate that the heart and the tongue are established symbols of Atum⁵²), and

50) Wb V, 240.

51) Eg. in 55. Cf. also the fact that Ptah is regarded as the originator of the ennead.

52) The special mention of Horus and Thot raises a problem. Their part in the theogony is not clear. They have been interpreted as equivalents to Sia and Hu — Atum's creative thought and word. The theory has much to recommend it. At any rate, there are texts which place Thot in such a context; and Thot is the god who puts into force the creator's command. (Cf. Junker p. 43 ff). This explanation of the two gods' function in our text is not wholly satisfactory, it has not been documented that Horus is the creator's thought.

it is therefore felt necessary to point explicitly out that they are here symbols of Ptah. What the author is saying in the first line of the passage, is then that Ptah is the creative principle in Atum. It is as Atum that Ptah creates the ennead.

Next follow the somewhat uncertain words $wr = c\dot{\text{z}} Pth \text{ } \dot{\text{sw}}\dot{\text{d}} \text{ } \text{||||} \text{ } \text{||||}$ ($ntr.w nb)w^{53}) k\dot{\text{z}}.w = sn$. The translation is again made difficult by a defective text. The key word seems to be $\dot{\text{sw}}\dot{\text{d}}$, "transfer"; which signs have followed are to be guessed at. From what the space allows and from what the content of the narrative indicates, the following completion is a reasonable one: $n ntr.w nb.w^{54})$; the whole sentence is then transcribed $\dot{\text{sw}}\dot{\text{d}} n ntr.w nb.w k\dot{\text{z}}.w = sn^{55})$. As *ka* according to Egyptian thought represents the power of living, it comes natural to interpret the words in relation to the theogony which has hitherto been the theme: The theogony is conceived as a transfer of *kas*⁵⁶⁾.

This conception of the theogony makes itself felt also in the lines following upon 53, as the creative acts mentioned in them imply a specification of the *ka*-qualities. Here a comment upon the concept of *ka* has to be made. *Ka* has a wide range of meanings and it is therefore difficult to give a short definition which covers all of them. However, Bonnet's definition still seems to hold good: *Ka* is "Träger des Lebens"⁵⁷⁾. *Ka* is the mythical expression of the power of living, or capability of living. This vital power is manifested first and foremost in the physical, bodily life given to man at his birth⁵⁸⁾, and *ka* is there-

53) Restored by Sethe.

54) Sethe fills in de lacunae with $ph.tj = f n ntr.w nb.w$, and thinks that Ptah gives his power to the gods as well as to their *kas*; he translates: "Gross und gewaltig ist Ptah, der (seine Kraft) vererbte (an) alle (Götter) und ihre *Ka*-Geister" p. 50. — Junker completes the line with $cnh n ntr.w nb.w$, and thinks that Ptah gives life to the gods and to their *kas*: "Es ist Ptah der 'sehr Grosse', da er (Leben) überwiesen hat allen Göttern und ihren *Ka*'s" p. 40.

55) $\dot{\text{sw}}\dot{\text{d}}$ is conceived as a participle. — There is a possibility that the sentence might be a $\dot{\text{s}}\dot{\text{d}}m-n=f$: $\dot{\text{sw}}\dot{\text{d}}-n=f n ntr.w nb.w k\dot{\text{z}}.w = sn$. The succession of words creates a problem, as according to this solution the object comes before the adverbial expression.

56) Cf. Pyr. 1965, where the creation of Shu and Tefnut is conceived as a *ka*-transfer from Atum. — See also Erman: *Die Religion der Aegypter*, Berlin and Leipzig 1934, p. 209f and notes.

57) H. Bonnet: *Reallexikon der Aegyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin 1952, p. 358.

58) Cf. G. Steindorff: *Der Ka und die Grabstatuen*, ZÄS, 1910, 48, pp. 152-159: Gods, kings, human beings receive their *kas* at the birth and with that become "owners of *kas*", $nb.w k\dot{\text{z}}.w$, an expression equivalent with "the living",

fore often pictured as his twin. Ka is of divine origin—man gets his bodily life from a god of creation. Ka is also intimately attached to the most important representation of the body: the statue⁵⁹). Physical life in its turn has several aspects, it involves the functioning of the sense organs, the movements of the limbs, and also the taking in of the food that sustains the life of the body. These aspects of the ka-life are also mentioned in our text, but here in a theogonic context, which means that they belong to the life of the gods; this is in other words conceived in analogy with that of man. The gods too, receive their kas from a god, and this divine creator of the lives of the gods is, according to our text, Ptah. He possesses the qualities constituting the ka-life, and these he transfers to the gods⁶⁰).

In 56 they receive the functioning of the sense organs:

The eye sees, the ear hears, the nose breathes;

and also the faculty of cognition:

they report to the heart; it is this which causes all cognition to originate, and it is the tongue which repeats the thought of the heart.

In 57 the food sustaining the ka-life is created:

Then the kas were created and the hemsets appointed which provide all provisions and all food.

In 57-58 the functioning of the body is created:

..... the doings of the arms, the walking of the legs, the movement of the limbs.

Then follows in 58 a summing up of the theogenesis, in the form of the characteristic combination of life and food contained in the ka-concept:

cnh.w. — See also Maspero: *Le Ka des Egyptiens est-il un génie ou un double?* Memnon VI, 1912.

59) Cf. the cultic functions of the ka in connection with the statue of the dead.

60) From later times in particular Re's ka-qualities are known from long lists of the god's many kas, the number of kas even mounting to 14, which is certainly not only an expression of his divine power being greater than that of other gods, Re's many kas are also a specification of his ka-power. — Bonnet quotes as a typical ka-list: "Stärke, Macht, Gedeihen, Speisung, Ehrwürdigkeit, Lebensdauer, Strahlen, Glanz, Ruhm, Zauberkraft, Wort, Sehen, Hören, Erkennen" *ibid.* 359. — See also Fr. W. von Bissing: *Versuch einer neuen Erklärung des ka'i der alten Ägypter.* SBAW, 1911, München 1911.

For he is Tatenen who created the gods; all things have emanated from him, as regards food and provisions, that is the food offerings of the gods and all good things.

This specification of the life created by Ptah should be taken into consideration when we are to determine the frame of reference of the text. In one situation only do the gods lead a bodily life where food and provisions are of importance, which is in the cult; the food and provisions are—as the text itself explains—the food offerings.—The cultic frame of reference explicated in 60-61, is in other words implicit in all ⁶¹⁾ acts of creation from 54 and onwards. This is a creation of the ka-life of the gods, which means: their life in the statues.

III. *The cultic frame of reference*

The author takes his point of departure in a cultic situation. In addition to the indications of this already mentioned, there comes the way of creating. This is surprisingly often mentioned, a fact which shows that a special interest is taken in it; the attention is not directed exclusively to the mere fact that Ptah creates.

Already in 52 the organs through which the creation is executed, the heart and the tongue, are presented. Ptah is here identified with them. The functions of the organs are explicated in 53, where the heart and the tongue in the first place are said to belong to the originator of the ennead, and secondly are established as instruments in the creation of the lives of the gods, with the words:

Great and powerful is Ptah who transferred to all gods their kas.

The nature of the heart and the tongue is further discussed in 54:

Power was created in all limbs through the heart and the tongue⁶²⁾, on the

61) The following part of 57 has not been commented on: *irr mrr.t irr msd.t šw di cnh n hrj htp šw di mw.t n hrj hbn.t*; see note 6. The relationship between this part and the rest of the text is not clear. — Sethe regards *mrr.t* and *msd.t* as moral concepts: "Was geliebt wird, tun' und 'was gehasst wird, tun' sind Ausdrücke, die sonst wohl überall eine moralische Bedeutung haben. Was die Menschen lieben und was die Götter (Leid. V 4 = Lesestücke 72, 21) oder auch die Menschen (z.B. LD III, 13 c, 2) hassen, ist das Gute und das Böse, das der Mensch tun bzw. nicht tun soll." p. 64. — It might, however, be a possibility that *mrr.t* relates to life, and *msd.t* to death, and that the passage is not elliptic, as Sethe thinks.

62) In transcription: *hpr-n šhm m ib ns m wt nb*. Sethe transcribes: *hpr-n šhm ib ns m wt nb*; he translates: "Es geschah, dass Herz und Zunge Macht erlangten

grounds that it is he (= Ptah) who is in every body, and in every mouth of all gods, all people, all cattle, all reptiles: all that live, thinking and commanding everything he wills.

Here for the first time is mentioned which property of the heart and the tongue makes them creative organs: Together they produce the *commanding word* of the god. There is no reason to believe that the author has abandoned his interest in the theogony for the creation of men, cattle and reptiles; the central idea in the passage is what is said about the heart and the tongue: The idea that Ptah is himself the heart and the tongue is here being evolved, as the author declares that Ptah is himself in everything he has created as its heart and tongue:

..... it is he who is in every body and in every mouth,
and thus his divine *sh̄m*⁶³) is in everything that lives. In this connection the heart and the tongue stand for the divine power pervading all living creatures, probably it is the very motive power of life.—With this, the heart and the tongue are connected with the creator as well as with what he has created, and placed in that two-fold relationship which is implicit already in 52, where the ambiguous genitive indicates that Ptah is both creator of the *en̄nead* and existing within it.—Lastly the author again gives expression to this enigmatic thought—that Ptah has created all that in which he himself exists as heart and tongue.

The thought is carried still further in 56. Here, to begin with, is described in more detail the mental activities behind the coming forth of the word through the heart and the tongue:

The eye sees, the ear hears, the nose breathes; they report to the heart; it is this which causes all cognition to originate, and it is the tongue which repeats the thought of the heart.

über (alle) Glieder". We have interpreted the sentence in analogy with the preceding 53, and thus conceive the *m* following the *sh̄m*-sign not as a phonetic complement, but as a preposition to *ib ns*. The use of *h̄pr* and of *m* in 54 is then parallel to that of 53: *h̄pr m h̄ṣṣtj h̄pr m n̄s* *m h̄ṣṣtj pn m n̄s pn h̄pr-n Hr im=f h̄pr-n Ḍhwtj im=f*. — The meaning of the statement is that with *sh̄m* the body has been given a divine quality. The following sentence: "because it is he who is in every body and in every mouth" explains why the heart and the tongue can create the *sh̄m* of all limbs — they are Ptah himself, his divine power (*sh̄m*) is in everything that lives (= has heart and tongue).

63) *sh̄m* is clearly perceived as coming from Ptah, being part of his nature. As to the transfer of *sh̄m*: Cf. Pyr. 139. — On *sh̄m* being part of the god's nature: Cf. S. Morenz: Aegyptische Religion (Die Religionen der Menschheit, B. 8), Stuttgart 1960, p. 18; H. Bonnet: Reallexikon der Aegyptischen Religionsgeschichte, Berlin 1952, p. 692.

The heart and the tongue have in 52, 53 and 54 been identified with Ptah, and the declaration in 56 that they give rise to and expression of cognition, points therefore both to the generally anthropological idea of the functioning of these organs, and to the specially theological idea that it is *Ptah* who is behind this mental activity. "The repetition of the tongue" is thus the commanding word of the creator god. This divine aspect of the heart and tongue as makers of the word is given prominence in the following summing up of the creation:

And all the gods, Atum and his ennead were created; indeed every divine word came into being through the thought of the heart and the commanding word of the tongue.

This summation includes, rather unexpectedly, the "divine words". Being "created" through the commanding word, the *md.w ntr* have a concrete reference, namely the rituals⁶⁴); what surprises is that their creation is mentioned on an equal footing with the creation of the gods. "Indeed, all divine words came into being through the thought of the heart and the commanding word of the tongue" is parallel to "And all the gods, Atum and his ennead were created". The parallel seems explicative, the meaning being that the gods were created because the rituals come from the heart and the tongue, that is from Ptah himself⁶⁵). With that the rituals are given participation in the theogony, but their function is apparently assumed to be known and is therefore not further commented on.

Line 56 in its entirety makes a passage. It should be considered as a continuation of 54, as it develops the idea that the heart and the tongue belong to Ptah as well as to all living creatures; the idea is discussed with a view to the origin of the word through the heart and the tongue. The first half of the passage deals with the perceptions governed by these organs, and the mental activities which through them result in the commanding word. As the heart and the tongue have been said to belong to creator as well as to what has been created, it follows that the passage is not only about Ptah's mental activities, it is also about the mental activities of the gods, and in that respect it presents an aspect

64) Here Sethe has a different interpretation of the concept from the one he offers to line 59, and translates with the vague "göttliche Gesetze", more precisely "die Regelung der Tätigkeit der Sinne, ihre Abhängigkeit von Herz und Zunge, und deren göttliche Macht in allen Lebewesen." p. 60.

65) Note the emphatic *šk* and *is*.

of the life they have received from Ptah. Thirdly, it is clear from the last sentence of the passage that the heart and the tongue are also behind the origin of the rituals; and thereby the heart and tongue belonging to the executor of the rituals are drawn into this ring of associations.

In 57 all food is created through the workings of the word:

And the kas were created and the hemsets appointed who produce all provisions and all food through this word.

Finally, in 57

all work and crafts were created, the doings of the arms, the walking of the legs, the movement of the limbs, in accordance with the commanding word, which is thought by the heart and which has come forth on the tongue, and which determines the quality of everything.

Here again is emphasized that it is the commanding word which executes the creation.

The actual meaning of the heart and the tongue is a problem which we are soon to consider. Here it should be noted that the two organs are important first and foremost because they produce the word, *md.t*, or the command, *wꜥ mdw*. But they have in addition to this another kind of significance as they are also symbols of Ptah as creator—through them Ptah is himself in the life he has created, an idea which is expressed in 54 and 56. The author for some reason wants to underline that it is Ptah who is behind the creation through the word. This he does by underlining the creative procedure; he seldom presents the word as effective in its own capacity, but repeatedly informs us of its dependence on the heart and the tongue (56, 58), information which would have been unnecessary if it were not for the fact that the heart and the tongue are symbols of Ptah⁶⁶).

The word is the essential feature in the image of the mouth also:

His ennead in front of him (has come into being) through the teeth and the lips, that is Atum's semen and hands; for as the ennead of Atum came into being through his semen and fingers, so also the ennead is the teeth and the lips in this mouth which pronounces the name of all things and from which Shu and Tefnut emanated.

66) Only when the heart and the tongue are symbols of Ptah have 54 and 56 actually meaning. Junker, however, thinks that the passages on the functions of the heart and tongue belong to a "Naturlehre" about the activities of these organs in the human body (p. 69 ff). As a "Naturlehre" these passages, at best, tell us nothing.

The mouth "which pronounces the name of all things" is given the same effect as the one "from which Shu and Tefnut emanated"; the utterance of the word is thus equivalent with the spitting out of Atum's semen, which means that it gives origin to the gods.—Apart from this, a special interest is taken in the mouth as such, which cannot have been conditioned solely by the fact that it pronounces the word. True, the mouth illustrates Ptah's close relationship to the ennead—the ennad being the teeth and the lips in it⁶⁷), but even this does not wholly explain the remarkably elaborate comment upon the mouth, already the heart and the tongue have been used to illustrate Ptah's close relationship to the ennead, there is no need for supplementing it with the image of the ennead as teeth and lips in his mouth.

We have seen that two ideas are considered central by the author, both conveyed by the metaphor of the heart and the tongue, the one being that Ptah is essentially connected with the gods he has created, the other that it is the word which effects the creation.

The question then comes naturally—why has the word this central place in the theogony? Ptah is in the first place a god who has as his most prominent criterium the creation by his *hands*; that the craftsman Ptah creates by his word is unusual, it occurs only exceptionally⁶⁸). Secondly, there is nothing in the concept of theogony that presupposes the central part given to the word; and the great concern of the author has in fact been to account for it — hence the need to equate the creation by the word with Atum's method of creation (54), and frequently to stress that the heart and the tongue and the word do have theogonic functions, all of which would have been superfluous if this capacity of the word was self-evident. From this point of view the Ptah-text is in its entirety a theological exposition of the not quite obvious assertion that the word can create divine life. We are left with the frame of reference belonging to our text, the explanation for the creative role played by the word has to be found here. It is not difficult to ascertain the frame of reference, for in one context only can the word create: the ritual context. It will not be an easy task to explain the

67) Presumably is also associated the idea of the creator god being the tongue of the ennead.

68) Holmberg: "The conceptions about Ptah's heart and tongue are hardly found outside this text. Ptah is repeatedly described as a creator, but it is only occasionally that he is spoken of as a creator with his word" p. 45.

author's concept of the creative procedure without bringing in cultic preconditions⁶⁹).

The problem is to define more precisely what cultic situation lies behind the theogony. In order to do so we will take as our starting point the concrete cultic object to which the theogony itself in fact attaches the life of the gods: the statues (60-61). The life of the gods is connected with these, and the words "they came into being there" consequently concern them.—The concrete making of the statue first attracts our attention. It is carried out by a craftsman, who also makes the other requisites necessary for cultic life. But this state of affairs raises a theological problem. Man is not of course the real maker of the life of the gods, the craftsman necessarily acts on behalf of some divine power. On this stage Ptah comes in as the real creator, he is the actual craftsman, and as such he is presented in line 60. From this point of view Ptah creates with his hands⁷⁰), and this is the usual Ptah-theologumenon. No word is necessary in this connection, so this craftsmanship situation cannot be the background for the creation through the word. It is nevertheless the role of the craftsman which is the primary condition of Ptah's theogonic role⁷¹). The special way of performing this described by our text has, however, its origin in another situation in which the statue is the main object, namely when it is "made alive": According to Egyptian thought the finished product cannot function as the body of the god unless it has through a ritual ceremony got its *ka*⁷²). In this ceremony Ptah, the actual maker of the statue, has his natural place, and thus he is also behind this "finishing touch" to the work. That precisely this animating rite is uppermost in the author's thought, is shown by 61 which comes as the climax of the story about the creation of the statues, and also by 53 which conceives Ptah's theogonic activities as a transfer of *kas*. But as Ptah was repre-

69) Sethe sees in the creative functions of the heart and tongue "eine geistige Auffassung von Zusammenhang der Dinge, die man für eine so frühe Zeit niemals erwartet hätte" (p. 78), and he regards this "geistige Auffassung" as a contrast to the "coarse materialistic" Heliopolitan theogony, according to which Atum creates by masturbation, p. 79. — Junker even discerns a "Bekämpfung des rohen Bildes unter dem das Urwirken des Atum erzählt wird" p. 56. Cf. also his interpretation of 55, where, in his view, the text "wolltedie Schöpfung des Atum bekämpfen" p. 57.

70) The word *s.twt* has clear implications of craftsmanship.

71) Cf. Weynants-Ronday: "En ce qui concerne les statues, rappelons d'abord que le sculpteur s'appelait en Égypte *s'ankh*, 'celui qui fait vivre' " p. 110.

sented by a craftsman during the making of the concrete statue, so he is now represented by a priest: The priest carrying out the ritual transfers on behalf of Ptah the divine ka-powers from the god to the statue—which by that receives Ptah's life. At this stage the word is the creative element. The animation of the statue is executed by the formulas, they are in our text called "divine words" and represent Ptah's own command. Here is the explanation to the theogonic function of the "divine words" in 56—they refer to the ritual of cultic animation of the statue. Ptah's *wḏ mdw* or *md.t* corresponds mythically to the creative ritual words⁷²).—Also the implicit reference which the origin of the word has in 56 to the performer of the rituals, the priest, is explicable in his context. The heart and the tongue belong in the first place to the priest who utters the "divine words", but he represents Ptah, and thus they are in reality Ptah's organs, producing his *wḏ mdw*. Lastly, we have seen that the heart and the tongue belong also to the gods which are created (54), causing their bodies to function.

This concurrence of the hearts and tongues belonging to the gods, the priest, and Ptah, is typical of Egyptian way of thinking. The best characteristic of the phenomenon is given by Levy-Bruhl with his "mystical participation", a way of thinking which associates where our discursive thinking separates. We have seen that this associating approach can make it difficult to know exactly whom or what the author has in mind, as in 54 and 56. Only when we realize that it is not a question of "either-or" but of "both-and" can we begin to draw up the complex pattern of associations which reveals the theme of the text in its full scope.

Also the mytology of the mouth acquires meaning when seen from this cultic point of view: The picture of the ennead as teeth and lips in the articulating mouth is an example of the exuberant associative thinking which marks our author; here many thoughts are united in one metaphor, with a network of connotations; but the most important thing is that the author can in this picture of the mouth unite the two main aspects on the theogony, the ritual and the mythical. The life of the

72) Cf. Morenz' comment on the "union" of the god's ka and his statue. *ibid.* p. 160f.

73) Thot's part in the theogony may be ritually conditioned, as he is the god of the rituals.

gods is in the mouth which “pronounces the name of all things”, and this mouth belongs to the priest as well as to Ptah.

The mouth is, however, an even weightier metaphor; for the mouth was for the Egyptians in a special way connected with the life of the body. The very token of life is that the body can take in food, and the taking in of food is as we have seen an important side of the *ka*-life. This applied on the statue means that it functions as a god’s body when it can “take in” the offerings, which happens when it has got its mouth ritually “opened”. The “opening” of the mouth is thus synonymous with the act of making “alive”. Here we have the possibility of defining more closely the ritual background of the theogony—namely as that ritual of animation which we know is directed toward the mouth of the statue, which is connected with Ptah, and which has the same aspect of craftsmanship as our text: the ritual called “The opening of the mouth”⁷⁴).

Finally, the cultic approach to the text enables us to see its theocracy in a new light. Ptah’s creator relationship to the gods is theologically grounded in identifications with Nun/Nunet, Atum and Tatenen. His identity with Nun/Nunet is expressed by the combination of the names into Ptah-Nun and Ptah-Nunet (50a, 51a), his identity with Tatenen by the words “for he is Tatenen” (58). His relationship with Atum is manysided; he is Atum’s “father” and “mother” (50a, 51a); he is also the creating principle in Atum (53); and their relationship is one of identity which is expressed through the above-mentioned transfers to Ptah of attributes and mythical conceptions belonging to Atum.

Much has been written about theocracy in Egyptian religion, and also about the theocracy in our text. Usually the identifications are interpreted as an attempt to assert Ptah’s power and glory over the gods with whom he is identified⁷⁵). Allegedly it is Atum in particular whom

74) The concept of *mšj* is connected with the opening of the mouth e.g. in Papyrus Salt 825 (Philippe Derchain: *Le papyrus Salt 825, rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte*, III, 7, 8. Académie royal de Belgique, Bruxelles 1961).

mšj is also associated with the *h.t nb*, see E. Otto: *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, Teil II. Wiesbaden 1969, p. 36: “Das *h.t nb* ist die Werkstatt, in der die Götterbilder (*chm*) gebildet (*mšj*) werden”.

In Papyrus Louvre 3279 Ptah is called “father of the gods” (*it ntr.w*) in opening of the mouth context (J. C. Goyon: *Le papyrus du Louvre 3279*. Institut franc. d’arch. orient. Bibl. d’étude XLII, Le Caire 1966, p. 31).

75) Erman: “Der Text ist nicht aus reiner Freude an philosophischer Spekulation entstanden, sondern ist ein Produkt tendenziöser Theologie, die dem Gott von

the author in this way wishes to subordinate to Ptah, and this out of political-religious considerations, more precisely rivalries between Memphis and Heliopolis⁷⁶). The political frame of reference has become very popular. Holmberg comments: "In the Old Kingdom there was evidently a sharp competition and conflict between the Memphite and the Heliopolitan theologians. The rivalry was concerned with the question as to which of the two gods was most powerful, oldest and most venerable, the principal god of the residence, namely Ptah, or Atum, the principal god of the neighbouring Heliopolis, a city which could probably boast of an older history than Memphis A testimony of this contest, as waged from Memphis, is the Shabaka text" ⁷⁷). The testimony is found *i.a.* in the theocrasy of the text, which is given the following motivation: "In Egypt, when the adherents of a certain god wished to stress the might and importance of their own god at the expense of another god, and also to obtain control over the temple administration and the property of this other god, they used to declare that the other god was merely a form of or a manifestation of their own god" ⁷⁸). Also the fact that the text presents Ptah as "father" and "mother" of Atum, and as "heart" and "tongue" of Atum, points in this direction: "Further on in the text, Ptah is declared to have procreated and given birth to Atum, and it is said that Ptah's heart and tongue with which he created and with which he acted in the world, were a

Memphis eine höhere Stellung im Pantheon anweisen wollte". The theocrasy is used to attain this aim: "Ptah sollte auch als Schöpfer und Regierer der Welt erscheinen, und alle anderen Götter, einschliesslich des Atum, nur als dessen Gestalten oder Geschöpfe" p. 917. So also Sethe: "Das System..... gipfelt darin, dass alle bei der Schöpfung irgendwie in Mitwirkung kommenden Mächte nur Erscheinungsformen des einen grossen Schöpfers Ptah seien." p. 78.

76) According to Sethe the text was composed in opposition to the Heliopolitan theology (p. 78f). Junker continues on this line, maintaining that the theocrasy is preconditioned by the religious-political purpose of claiming Ptah's — i.e. Memphis' — supremacy over Atum — i.e. Heliopolis: "Ein Hauptziel der Lehre war die Auseinandersetzung mit Heliopolis und dem Allgott, der hier eine besondere Kultstätte besass. Atum = *Wr* als 'Herz und Zunge der Neunheit' aufgefasst, wird jetzt als Herz und Zunge des Ptah erklärt, der durch diese Organe die Götter und die Welt geschaffen habe. Damit war die Vorherrschaft des Herrn von Memphis gegenüber dem Gott von Heliopolis dargetan, Ptah war grösser als 'der Grosse,' er war der *Wr c3*." p. 77. He characterizes the text as "das religiöse Dogma für die neue Hauptstadt Memphis", it is "ein neues Dogma mit politischem Hintergrund" p. 6.

77) Holmberg p. 121.

78) Holmberg p. 121.

symbol of Atum. Also in this way Atum was designated as a being subordinate to Ptah and in his service"⁷⁹).

The main objection to this interpretation is that it presupposes a form of rivaling theology which rests on a very uncertain hypothesis⁸⁰), and which moreover seems to be alien to Egyptian religiosity—Egyptian religion being the very model of receptive pluralism. The fact that Ptah has procreated Atum certainly implies that Atum is subordinate to Ptah, as a son is subordinate to his father. But the question is what theological purpose this mytho-genealogical subordination has, and it is not at all easy to see that the purpose is to assign Memphite supremacy over Heliopolis. This applies in particular to the identification between the two gods, it is not very likely that its *purpose* was to diminish Heliopolis'—nor Atum's—power and glory, it indicates rather the opposite, as it presupposes an "Heliopolitan" influence which in

79) Holmberg p. 121.

80) The view that the text is polemical is usually supported by the hypothesis that it dates from the time when there was, presumably, rivalry between Memphis and Heliopolis. But this hypothesis of early rivalry between the two towns in its turn finds support in such statements about Ptah and Atum as our text contains; these statements are interpreted politically. Thus the argumentation moves in a circle. Cf. Holmberg: "Sethe, for linguistic reasons, has dated this text to an early dynastic period, but Junker, *on historical grounds*, has shown that it is in all probability from the Old Kingdom, when tension and rivalry arose between Memphis and Heliopolis, *as was manifested by the polemics in this Memphite text*" p. 19. (Italics made by the writer of the article).

A satisfactory dating of the text has not yet been given, so we should not take it for granted that it mirrors religious-political conditions in the Old Kingdom. Pushed to extremes it is in theory not impossible that this text which was "found" as a work of the ancestors was in actual fact composed during the reign of king Shabaka. True, it contains many old conceptions, and its language is on the whole like that of olden days, but we also find thoughts which are not supported elsewhere until the New Kingdom, and we find linguistic "modernisms" and "copying blunders". We know that many conceptions from the Old Kingdom survived down to late periods, and that also the art of writing the Old Kingdom language survived. "Findings" of "ancient" texts are not an uncommon way of legitimizing new ones, especially in times of renaissance; or, in J. A. Wilson's words: "The Egyptians had a strong sense of past dignity and accomplishment, so that they constantly invoked the authority of previous times in order to give sanction to the present. In literature of various kinds, a frequent statement emphasized the fidelity of the present copy to an older model". ANET, Princeton 1969, p. 495. — Cf. also C. J. Bleeker: Religious Tradition and Sacred Books in Ancient Egypt, in: F. F. Bruce and E. G. Rupp (edd): Holy Book and Holy Tradition. Manchester 1968, pp. 20-35.

Without contending that our text is *not* from the Old Kingdom, it should be noted that a much later dating could be given and with good reasons.

fact the author has chosen not to eliminate, he accepts it. Holmberg's conclusion from her observations is therefore not convincing: "Thus, at Memphis attempts were made to diminish the power and influence of Atum by contending that he was subordinate to Ptah in age and power, and that he was merely an instrument of Ptah in the latter's creative work"⁸¹). It remains to be shown that the Ptah-text is "the Memphite polemical pamphlet against Heliopolis and Atum"⁸²).

The interpretation cited regards the text from a political-historical or a cult-historical point of view. From what has been said so far, it should be seen from a cultic-theological point of view. The first thing to be considered according to this view, is not where these gods were venerated, but what they stood for. Our concern is, then, the fact that Ptah takes over the names and functions of a number of gods, which are all gods of origin, but of different categories: Tatenen gives origin to everything that grows on the earth; Atum gives origin to the ennead; Nun and Nunet are the ultimate source of everything, but our text concentrates on their being the ultimate source of the gods, as they are presented as the parents of Atum, the creator of the ennead.

By identifying Ptah with these powers the author says that *he* gives the origin to all that grows on the earth, the ennead and the gods. Why is it said in this way? Why not simply state that Ptah is the sole creator of all this? Why bring in those other gods? Their association with Ptah is conditioned by a functional necessity; Ptah did not traditionally possess the qualities possessed by the mentioned gods of origin; the author identifies him with them because it is at the moment required that he should have such qualities. The point is that Ptah is not Nun/Nunet, Atum and Tatenen in every context, he does not function as the primeval powers, the creator of the ennead, the productive earth, under all circumstances. He does it here.

It might be parenthically added that unless Nun/Nunet, Atum and Tatenen were accepted by the author as powers of origin in their own right, he would not have placed them in this sort of relationship to Ptah. Far from being a manifestation of competitive rivalry between Ptah and Atum, Ptah and Nun, or between Ptah and Tatenen for that matter, this is a successful co-operation.

81) Holmberg p. 122.

82) Holmberg p. 122.

Our next step is to consider how these identities function in the text. It appears that they relate to different aspects of Ptah's creative activities. Put into the concrete frame of reference we have given to these activities, this means that they correspond to the different aspects of the making of the gods' statues. In this concrete creative situation Ptah functions *qua* Nun/Nunet, Atum and Tatenen. He functions as Tatenen when the material needed for the cultic life of the gods is procured. He functions as Atum and Nun/Nunet when life is given to the statues; both Atum and Nun are in Egyptian mythology the established theogonians, Atum being the originator of the ennead, Nun being the primeval father; our author could not very well refrain from reckoning with both of them.

In other words it is the concrete situation underlying the theogony, which conditions the theocracy. In this situation qualities are required which the traditional craftsman god does not have; these qualities are attributed to him through identifications with gods who have them, and thus Ptah keeps the key position during all phases of the creation, the whole creative process is carried out under his auspices. We have here a combination of henotheistic and polytheistic conceptions of god, which manifests itself in a manner typical of Egyptian religion—namely through a free transfer of the desired attributes from gods who have them to the one god who needs them, while at the same time the traditional ownership of these attributes is retained.—But here our special problem has run into the general and fundamental problem of explaining the Egyptian experience of the divine.

ABBREVIATIONS

- ANET: Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton 1964.
Breasted, J. H.: "The Philosophy of a Memphite Priest". *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 39, Leipzig 1901.
Erman, A.: "Ein Denkmal memphitischer Theologie". *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 43, Berlin 1911.
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Junker, H.: "Die Götterlehre von Memphis". *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 23, 1939, Berlin 1940.
Sethe, K.: "Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysterienspielen". *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens*, 10, Leipzig 1928.

THE NAHUA MYTH OF THE SUNS

History and Cosmology in Pre-Hispanic Mexican Religions

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One of the most interesting and best documented of all pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican myths is the story of the creation and destruction of a succession of world periods or ages. It is recorded by several of the early missionaries to whom we owe the bulk of our knowledge about the beliefs, practices, customs and institutions of the religions of central Mexico. Andrés de Olmos, Bernardino de Sahagún, Diego Durán, Toribio de Motolinía, Gerónimo de Mendieta and other sixteenth century chroniclers describe the sacred lore about the creation and destruction of the world through its several ages or "Suns", as the sources refer to them. Other variants, commentaries and references of varying form (literary, pictorial, monumental), provenance, authorship and extensiveness further increase our knowledge of this story. In all, more than twenty different variants of the myth of the Suns were recorded in the region of central Mexico within roughly one hundred years of the Conquest.¹)

1) For sake of brevity we cite only the editions in the original language, wherever possible. Other editions and translations are listed in *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, XI (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), 805-62.

There are four monoliths and stones which contain carvings of the glyphs of the Suns. The "Aztec Calendar Stone" is pictured and discussed in many books and articles. The study of Erwin Dieseldorf, "The Aztec Calendar Stone and Its Significance," *Proceedings of the XXIIIth International Congress of Americanists* (1928), pp. 211-22, bears on our remarks. Another "calendar stone" is described by George Grant MacCurdy, "An Aztec 'Calendar Stone' in the Yale University Museum," *American Anthropologist*, XII (1910), 481-96; MacCurdy also published plates of the "Stone of the Suns," as did Hermann Beyer in his "El llamado 'Calendario Azteca': descripción e interpretación del *cauxicalli* de la 'Casa de Aguilas,'" *El México Antiguo*, X (1965), 171-200. A shell ornament with the glyphs of the Suns is described by Gaspar de Chavez, "Relación de la provincia de Metztlán," *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia e Etnografía*, IV (1924), 109-20.

The latest edition of the anonymous *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas* is in Ángel María Garibay K., *Teogonía e historia de los mexicanos: tres opúsculos del siglo XVI* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1965), pp. 12-79. The *Histoire du Mechique* was published by Edouard de Jonghe, "Histoyre du Méchique, Manuscrit Français inédit de XVI^e Siècle," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, 2 (1905), 1-41. The *Memoriales* of Motolinía can be found in Vol. I of the *Documentos históricos de México* (Mexico City: L. García Pimentel, 1903), 345-47. The version of the myth copied by Francisco López de Gómara is in his *Historia de la conquista de México*, II (Mexico City: 1943), 211-12. A few sentences referring to the myth of the Suns are included in the *Códice Ramírez* (Mexico City: Editorial Leyenda, 1944). A Nicaraguan variant is found in Gónzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdéz, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, Vol. CXX in the "Biblioteca de autores españoles: desde la formación del lenguaje hasta nuestros días," ed. Juan Perez de Tudela Buesco (Madrid: Gráficas ORBE, 1959), 366.

The anonymous Náhuatl text of the *Lyenda de los Soles* is given with an annotated German translation by Walter Lehman in Vol. I of *Quellenwerke zur alten Geschichte Amerikas Aufgezeichnet in den Sprachen der Eingeborenen*, "Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexiko" (Berlin: Ibero-Amerikanischen Institut, 1938), 322-48. A picture codex, the *Codex Vaticanus A*, no. 3738, also known as the *Codex Ríos*, is published as *Il manoscritto Messicano Vaticano 3738, detto il codice Ríos* (Rome: Duke of Loubat, 1900). The anonymous manuscript in Náhuatl, the *Anales de Cuauhtitlán*, has been translated with notes by Lehmann in his *Die Geschichte*, pp. 60-62 (for the myth of the Suns). The references to the world ages in Durán's works are in his *Historia de las indias de Nueva España e islas de la tierra firme*, ed. Ángel María Garibay K., (2 vols.; Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1967), I, 22-23, and II, 16-18, 453. A Náhuatl text with a parallel English translation by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble is in Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 7, The Gods*, trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble (Santa Fe: American Research and the University of Utah, 1953), 3-8, 42-58. A brief reference to the story of the Suns is found in the *Florentine Codex: Book I, The Gods*, trans. by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble (Santa Fe: School of American Research and the University of Utah, 1970), 84. For Sahagún's final redaction see: Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, ed. Miguel Acosta Saignes, II (Mexico City: Editorial Nueva España, S.A., 1946), 12-17.

A Tlaxcaltecan variant of the story is found in Diego Muñoz Camargo, *Historia de Tlaxcala* (Mexico City: Chavero, 1892), pp. 131-32, 154-55. An odd variant is preserved by Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1971), pp. 77-82. The three versions of the myth recorded by Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl are in his *Obras históricas de don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl* (2 vols.; Mexico City, 1891-92), I, 11-15, 18-21, and II, 21-25. Another variant is in Juan de Torquemada, *Los veinte i un libros rituales y monarquía indiana*, ed. Miguel León-Portilla (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1971), pp. 79-84. Largely copied from Ixtlilxóchitl is the version of Antonio Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del mar oceano* (Madrid, 1934), p. 161. A late variant can be found in Hernando Ruíz de Alarcón, "Tratado de las supersticiones y costumbres gentílicas que hoy viven entre los indios naturales de esta Nueva España," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, VI (1892), 123-224.

If to these were added the myths of world ages from other regions and periods in Mesoamerica, this figure would probably triple.²⁾ Some of these extra-Mexican variants unquestionably contain Nahua elements and motifs. The transformation of Hunaphu and Xbalanque into the sun and the moon in the *Popol Vuh*, and the names of the gods and series of world periods in the Nicaraguan variant copied by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdéz are two examples. For the sake of economy we will here restrict ourselves to the central Mexican versions of the myth.

Three hypotheses will be offered with respect to the significance of this myth for future study. First, we will argue that the "myth of the Suns" functioned as a structural paradigm or model which related the organization of space, time, the cosmology, the calendars, ritual activity and eschatological beliefs to the sequence of divine acts and events which defined the history of the world.³⁾ Secondly, in spite of the many parallels which have been noted between this myth and the Hindu, Buddhist, Greek, Iranian and Christian systems of world ages, the myth of the Suns reveals a pattern which is uniquely "Mexican", and as such differs morphologically from other systems which appear to be similar on the surface. Thirdly, we will suggest that the Mexican system of cosmic cycles utilizes generically "religious" forms and structures and that it is at this level that fruitful comparisons may be sought.

The sources of the myth which reflect Nahua traditions and beliefs are not of equal extensiveness, detail or reliability. Oddly, the two individuals whom we might expect to have provided the most detailed accounts of the myth, Sahagún and Durán, have left only fragments. The sources of information also differ markedly. The monolithic evidence is pre-Hispanic and in the case of the "Aztec Calendar

2) Useful fragments of the myth are found in the *Popol Vuh*, the *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, the several *Books of Chilam Balam*, the collection of documents in the *Relaciones de Yucatan*, in Diego López de Cogolludo, *Historia de Yucatan*, and in Fray Gregorio García, *Origen de los indios del Nuevo Mundo e Indias occidentales*. J. Eric S. Thompson has summarized a number of similar myths, both pre-Hispanic and modern, in his *Maya History and Religion* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), pp. 330-48.

3) The "paradigmatic" function of myth is a point often argued by Mircea Eliade. He says that "...the foremost function of myth is to reveal the exemplary models for all human rites and all significant human activities." Mircea Eliade, *Myth and Reality* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1963), p. 8.

Stone" may be assumed to reflect one "official" and "canonical" version of the myth. Sahagún recorded his information by questioning native informants and cross-checking his information in other locations. Durán, in parts of his writings, was directly translating a native history. Other sources, such as the *Leyenda de los Soles* and the *Anales de Cuauhtitlán*, were written as commentaries on native picture writings by bilingual and trilingual pupils trained in the missionary schools. The single codex in which the account of the Suns is contained is post-Conquest.

Other versions are colored by Christian influences or by the desire to present local traditions in the best possible light. One frequently cited source, Francisco López de Gómara, never visited the New World, and another, Oviedo y Valdéz, had no first hand knowledge of New Spain. Juan de Torquemada largely copied his information from earlier accounts, as to some extent did his principal source of information, Mendieta. The authorship of other variants, such as the *Histoyre du Mechique* and the *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*, is not established with certainty.

The resulting differences in the details of the myth have occasioned considerable discussion. The number of world ages is given variously as three, four, five and six. The duration of a single age is twenty-three years in the *Histoyre du Mechique*, 676 years in the *Leyenda de los Soles* and 5042 years in the *Codex Vaticanus A*. In this last variant the length of the ages increase from the first to the fourth Sun, in others the length of the Suns appears to increase and decrease randomly, and in another it remains constant. One variant attributes the destruction of the past ages to the vices of their inhabitants, and another to an insufficient supply of food. One of the most extensive sources, the *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*, gives the major role in creating the contemporary age to Quetzalcóatl, Tláloc and their sons, while other variants assign the same task to two comparatively minor deities, Nanahuatzin and Tecuciztécatl.

Despite these differences, the system of the Suns is clear in its outlines. The sources generally agree that the world has passed through four cosmic ages and that it is now in a fifth.⁴⁾ They also agree that

4) See the chart of eleven variants of the myth in Roberto Moreno de los Arcos, "Los cinco soles cosmogónicos," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, VII (1967), 200.

each of these great cosmic periods ended with a universal cataclysm in which the inhabitants of the ages were either destroyed or transformed into some form of animal or aquatic life. Although the exact sequence of the Suns differs among the variants (and even among those from Tenochtitlan), the majority designate the ages with the names *nahui ocelotl* ("4 Jaguar"), *nahui ehécatl* ("4 Wind"), *nahui quiyahuítl* ("4 Rain of Fire"), *nahui atl* ("4 Water"), and *nahui ollin* ("4 Motion"), or some variation thereof. Each of the names describes the nature of the age and the manner in which it and its inhabitants were or will be destroyed—by man-eating jaguars, a violent wind, a rain of fire from the sky, a deluge, and by an earthquake.

The variant of the myth contained in the *Historia de los mexicanos pos sus pinturas* is of special interest because it relates the passing of the world ages to successive periods of sovereignty by a series of four gods. According to this account, before the universe existed there was a dual god, Tonacatecutli-Tonacacíhuatl, "of whose beginning no one ever knew," existing at the summit of the cosmos in the thirteenth "heaven".⁵) This deity gave birth to four gods, Tlatlahuqui Tezcatlipoca, Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca, Quetzalcóatl and Huizilopochtli. After six hundred years had passed the four brothers "assembled and said it would be well to decide what would have to be done and on what order would hold." After the creation of the world each of the four gods, in sequence, assumed the role of the sun. The periods when one or another of the gods were dominant were called "Suns", and each passed as one god battled and defeated another until each had held power for an age. At the end of the fourth Sun there was a universal flood, the skies collapsed on the earth, the people were changed into fish and everything was in darkness. This variant concludes as Quetzalcóatl throws his son into the fire and he rises as the sun of the fifth age. Tláloc then throws his son into the ashes and he rises as the moon.

Other variants describe the actions of the gods at the beginning of the fifth Sun in greater detail. Motolinía states that in the interval between the fourth and fifth Suns the first human pair was created and that a new sun appeared on the day *ce tochtli*, "1 Rabbit".⁶) López de Gómara, who has been largely copying Motolinía up to this point, adds

5) *Historia de los mexicanos pos sus pinturas*, p. 23.

6) Motolinía, *Memoriales*, p. 347.

that "with the new sun, all other things had to be made anew" and that the gods died in order to accomplish this.⁷⁾ Mendieta confirms the immolation of the gods and describes their assembly at Teotihuacán, the laying of a sacrificial fire, the transformation of one of the gods into the sun, and the ritual slaying of the remaining gods by Xolotl.⁸⁾

Three other versions, the *Histoyre du Mechique*, the *Leyenda de los Soles* and the first and seventh books of Sahagún's works, largely confirm these events and add other details. All place the assembly of the gods at Teotihuacán and are explicit in attributing the beginning of the fifth Sun to the actions of Nanahuatzin (Nanahuatl, Nanahuaton), a poor, humble and orphaned god, suffering from diseases of the skin, who is the first to throw himself into the sacrificial fire and rise as the sun. The *Leyenda de los Soles* and the version of Sahagún stress the contrast between Nanahuatzin and the wealthy, proud but cowardly god Tecuciztécatl, who leaps into the ashes of the fire and is transformed into the moon.

With the deaths of the remaining gods the wind begins to blow, the sun and moon assume their proper courses and the fifth age, *nahui ollin tonatiuh*, "4 Motion Sun", begins. This age too, say the sources, will inevitably come to an end with famine, earthquakes and darkness.

Much of the discussion of the myth of the Suns has been taken up in listing, comparing and trying to reconcile the disagreements in the details of the variants.⁹⁾ The length of the Suns, the order of their sequence, the associations with directions, colors, qualities and powers, the metamorphoses of the inhabitants of the ages, and their foodstuffs have all received attention. Others have focused on the "remarkable

7) López de Gómara, *Historia de la conquista de México*, II, 212.

8) Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, p. 79.

9) We cite here only those studies which we have found useful and do not have occasion to mention below. An early and quite remarkable study of the myth, despite flights of imagination, is that of L. F. H. C. de Charency, "Des Âges ou Soleils d'après la mythologie de peuples de la Nouvelle Espagne, *Actas de la IV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* (1881), pp. 9-129; Annie Dorsin-fang-Smets, "Les quatre coins du monde aztèque," *Eschatologie et Cosmologie*, III (1969), 59-72; Miguel León-Portilla, "Mythology of Ancient Mexico," in Samuel Noah Kramer (ed.), *Mythologies of the Ancient World* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1961), pp. 445-72; Samuel Martí, "Simbolismo de colores, deidades, números y rumbos," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, II (1960), 93-127; J. Eric S. Thompson, "Sky Bearers, Colores and Directions in Maya and Mexican Religion," *Contributions to American Archaeology*, X (1934), 211-42.

analogies", as Alexander von Humbolt called them, between the Mexican myths of world ages and those of other religious systems.¹⁰⁾ Some of these studies have been taken up with the larger question of "diffusionism" and the myth of the Suns appears as peripheral to this larger discussion, while others, as Roberto Moreno has noted, approached the myth as holding the key to the meaning of the "Aztec Calendar Stone" and other monuments.¹¹⁾ There have been relatively few attempts to focus directly on the structure of the myth itself. Several of these, although lengthy and detailed, have tended to be highly idiosyncratic and imaginative, while others are vitiated by interpretive stances—euhemerism, nature mythology, Jungian psychology—which are questionable on methodological grounds.¹²⁾

Nonetheless, most scholars tend to agree on the importance of the myth, however differently they might assess its meaning. According to Moreno:

The myth of the Suns contains . . . the vital principle underlying a great part of the most profound activities of the Nahuas, such things as human sacrifice, the New Fire Ceremony, territorial expansion, etc.¹³⁾

It remains for us to suggest more concretely how such claims might be further established.

The tendency to focus on the details and motifs of the myth of the Suns and on relatively superficial parallels with other systems of world ages has resulted in obscuring a larger and more fundamental issue which is raised by the mythical sequence of the Suns. The issue is that of the vision of time and history and the pattern of the world ages

10) Alexander von Humbolt, *Researches concerning the Institutions and Monuments of the Ancient Inhabitants of America, with Descriptions and Views of some of the Most Striking Scenes in the Cordilleras*, 2 vols., trans. by Helen Maria Williams (London: Longman, n.d.), I, 281, and II, 15-33.

11) Moreno, "Los cinco soles cosmogónicos," p. 184.

12) For a representative historicist interpretation of the myth see Manuel Orozco y Berra, *Historia de la Conquista de México*, I (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1880), 3-34. The first four articles in the fourth volume of Eduard Seler's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: Ascher and Co., 1902-23), 1-155, deal with the myth of the Suns and other gods, symbols and rites as personifications of natural phenomena. Partly in reaction, scholars such as Cottie A. Burland, *The Gods of Mexico* (London: Capricorn Books, 1968), Irene Nicholson, *Mexican and Central American Mythology* (London: Paul Hamlyn, Limited, 1967), and Laurette Séjourné, in the works cited below, all offer psychological interpretations of the myth.

13) Moreno, "Los cinco soles cosmogónicos," p. 183.

in relationship to one another. Put in the language of the myth, "What is the nature of the fifth Sun in relation to the earlier ages? Does it represent an advancement, a decline, or simply a continuation of the past? Is the view of history implicit in the myth best characterized as being "linear", "cyclical", or does it follow some other pattern?"

Although questions such as these have received little direct attention there is nearly a consensus of scholars that the story of the ages of the world is an "allusion to stages of culture"¹⁴⁾ and that each new age represents a stage of "new cultural progress".¹⁵⁾ The four previous Suns, it is claimed, were "imperfect worlds", each of which had to be destroyed before the "present age as the fifth and perfect creation can come into being".¹⁶⁾ The succession of the ages expresses "the idea that the worlds which were continually being created were gradually nearing perfection",¹⁷⁾ and "the idea of evolution towards better forms from age to age".¹⁸⁾ The fifth Sun is "the synthesis of progress achieved in the earlier ages". It is the "final" age of the world because it represents the culmination and perfection of human culture and history. It is regarded as "superior to all, often pictured as unsurpassable".¹⁹⁾

The agreement on this point is all the more striking, given the vastly different reductions by which the meaning of the system of cosmic ages has been explained. Almost without exception, whether the sequence of the Suns is read as an imaginative account of the historical conquests and growing political power of the Nahua tribes,²⁰⁾ as a

14) Annie Dorsinfang-Smets, "Fins du monde en Amérique précolombienne," *Eschatologie et Cosmologie*, III (1969), 78. Cf. Rafael Girard, *El Popol Vuh, Fuente Histórica* (Guatemala City: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1952), p. 13 and *passim*.

15) Annie Dorsinfang-Smets, "Fins du Monde Successives. Essai d'Interprétation Culturelle," *Actas y Memorias del XXXV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, (1962), p. 9.

16) Seler, *Sesammelte Abhandlungen*, IV, 38.

17) Alfonso Caso, *The Aztecs: People of the Sun*, trans. Lowell Dunham (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 16.

18) Miguel León-Portilla, *Pré-Colombian Literatures of Mexico*, trans. Grace Lobanov and León-Portilla, (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), p. 30.

19) Alfredo Chavero, "Explicación del código geroglífico de M. Aubin," an appendix to Diego Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España y islas de tierra firme*, II (Mexico City, 1880), 31.

20) Orozco y Berra, *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México*, I, 10.

story of the gradual success of a new solar cult and religious system, ²¹⁾ as an allegory on the progressive liberation of "spirit" from "matter", ²²⁾ as symbolizing the life cycle of the individual from infancy to maturity, ²³⁾ or as symbolic of the gradual evolution of agriculture, ²⁴⁾ the overall pattern of a "linear" and "evolutionary" picture remains much the same.

In fact, there is little explicit evidence which can be used in support of this interpretation. Mendieta provides what is perhaps the most explicit statement:

There were five Suns in past times, in which the fruits of the earth and the necessities did not grow well, and thus the inhabitants died eating various foods; but this present Sun is good, because in it everything is made well. ²⁵⁾

At the same time the accuracy of Mendieta's report is called into question by his statement that there are six, and not five Suns, a fact not supported by any of the other variants.

Apart from this remark other evidence which supports an evolutionistic reading of the myth is fragmentary and enigmatic at best. Most often appealed to are the references in three of the sources to the different kinds of food which were eaten in the several ages. Nevertheless, the exact meaning of some of the food names is uncertain, the lists seldom agree on the association of a particular food with an age, and in any case this motif seems to be a relatively minor one throughout. ²⁶⁾

It is on the basis of this fragmentary material that evolutionistic readings of the myth have rested. Still, there is no suggestion in any of the variants that the food consumed in each of the first four ages undergoes any development or improvement. Nowhere in the story

21) Albert Réville, *Les religions du Mexique* (Paris, 1885), p. 205.

22) Laurette Séjourné, *Burning Water: Thought and Religion in Ancient Mexico* (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1956), pp. 156-61, 182.

23) Theodor Wilhelm Danzel, *Mexiko. I. Grundzüge der altmexikanischen Geisteskultur* (Hegen-Darmstadt), 1922), p. 17.

24) Miguel León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture: A Study of the Ancient Náhuatl Mind*, revised edition, trans. Jack Emory Davis (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), p. 42.

25) Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, p. 81.

26) See the discussion and charts in Moreno, "Los cinco soles cosmogónicos," pp. 205-6. He also interprets the race of "giants" (*quinametin*), which is referred to in several of the variants, as carrying the meaning of "incomplete men".

of the Suns is there any indication of gradual progress, development, improvement or evolution. Instead, new things appear only after the old have been annihilated or destroyed.²⁷⁾ Practically all of the significant acts and creations of the gods are of an abrupt, magical and often violent nature. The Suns themselves end *çan cemilhuatl*, "in a single day", or *ipan cemilhuatl*, "during a single day".²⁸⁾ The earth is created by mutilating the body of a primal earth monster. The sky and earth are separated by splitting Tlatéotl in half. Maize is obtained by means of magical transformations, theft and trickery. Humans are created from broken bones and a blood sacrifice. The Suns appear and earth are separated by splitting Tlaltéotl in half. Maize is obtained as the gods sacrifice themselves or are sacrificed by another. The sequence of the world ages is disjunctive. There is nothing inherent in any of the Suns which leads into the next as a higher and more advanced stage.

Each Sun stands on its own, autonomous and apparently without internal change or development until it is destroyed and another takes its place.²⁹⁾ Only the events by which each Sun begins and ends are related in the myth, a fact which further emphasises the static and autonomous nature of each of the first four ages. According to the myth, the universe was like this for a time—suddenly it was different. The only "transitional" periods are the times before or between the Suns, periods which stand outside measured and structured time and space, intervals marked by battles, chaos, floods, earthquakes and darkness. The pre-historic Suns are discrete units, separated by the struggles, defeats and victories of the gods. According to Soustelle:

In such a world, change is not conceived as the result of a "becoming" which is extended in its duration, but as an abrupt and total mutation... The law of the universe is the alternation of distinct qualities, cleanly separated from each other, which rule, vanish, and reappear, eternally.³⁰⁾

27) Dorsinfang-Smets, "Fins du monde en Amérique précolombienne," p. 86.

28) *Leyenda de los Soles*, pp. 325, 326, 327.

29) We are unconvinced by José Imbelloni's argument that within each of the Suns there is a "degenerative tendency" which leads to the destruction of each. José Imbelloni, "El 'Génesis' de los pueblos proto-históricos de América, Sexta sección: Las edades del mundo; sinopsis crítica de la ciclografía medioamericana, con especial atención al computo cronológico," *Boletín de la Academia Argentina de Letras*, XI (1943), 189-93.

30) Jacques Soustelle, *La pensée cosmologique des anciens mexicains* (Paris: Hermann et Cie., 1940), p. 85.

Although Soustelle used these words to characterize the world-view contained in the Mexican calendrical systems, they no less accurately define the nature and interrelationship of the world ages.

The parallelism between the myth of the Suns and the structure of the calendars is significant. We must stress the radical difference between the nature and structure of the fifth Sun and that of the earlier ages. The first four Suns are separated from the fifth age more radically than they are separated from each other. The fifth age, unlike the previous four, begins with the collective sacrifice of all the gods. The bulk of the creative acts of the gods falls either in the time before the sequence of the world ages begins, or during the interval between the fourth and fifth Suns. Prior to the existence of the first Sun, according to the *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*, the sons of Tonacatecutli-Tonacacihuatl created the first human pair (Oxomoco and Cipactónal), taught them to sew, weave and work the earth, provided them with maize kernels for divination and a system for reckoning time. The gods created the zones of the vertical cosmos and placed the other gods in their proper places, and created the waters and the earth.³¹⁾

In other variants similar actions are performed in the interval between the fourth and fifth ages. It was then that the sky was raised above the earth, the directional trees were set up at the corners of the earth, and flowers, herbs, caves, cotton and maize were created. Fire, the stars, mountains, valleys and the human race were brought into existence. These intervals of creation, falling as they do outside the Suns, serve to frame the first four Suns and set them apart from the fifth.³²⁾

The text of the *Histoyre du Mechique* is more explicit. The existence of the five Suns is described and the apparently contradictory remark is added that "with respect to the creation of the world . . . they said it had been destroyed *one* time". But the text goes on to say that "after the destruction of the first world . . . a second was created", and that the "first world" refers to the first four Suns, while the second refers to the fifth.³³⁾ The earth and sky were created anew at the end of the fourth age as they were first created at the beginning of the first

31) *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*, pp. 25-27.

32) See especially the *Leyenda de los Soles* and the *Histoyre du Mechique*.

33) *Histoyre du Mechique*, p. 23, my italics.

age. Similarly, in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlán*, "When the earth was founded [at the beginning of the fifth Sun], already four series of life had entered and they knew that each one was a Sun."³⁴) There are two cosmogonies, and these two creations mark out distinct cycles within the sequence of the Suns.

Two of the "calendar stones" support this interpretation. Keeping in mind the intimate association of time and space in the Mexican cosmology,³⁵) it is significant that the spaces on which the glyphs of the first four Suns are located lie in the quadrants of a circle, while the glyph representing the fifth Sun stands at the center. These two kinds of space, that of the "quadrants" and that of the "center", are homologous to two different kinds of time, that of the pre-historic ages and that of the contemporary Sun, respectively. The fifth world period differs from the others not only in name, directional and color associations, but most fundamentally in terms of its internal structure.

In this respect the arrangement of the glyphs on the "Aztec Calendar Stone" is particularly illuminating in showing the relationship of the world ages to each other. In the center of the stone is the face of Tonatiuh, the "Sun". Surrounding it in a circle are the glyphs representing each of the first four cosmic eras—"4 Jaguar", "4 Wind", "4 Rain of Fire", and "4 Water". Taken together, the four glyphs and the stylized representation of Tonatiuh form the glyph "4 Motion", the name of the contemporary Sun. The arrangement of the Suns on the stone described by George MacCurdy is somewhat similar.

All this points to the uniqueness and ingenuity of the Mexican system of world ages. The fifth Sun is the synthesis and "center" of the four "earlier" ages. Each of the first four Suns forms one part or aspect of the contemporary Sun. The present age, in its internal structure, is constituted by the ordered and continuous recapitulation of the other Suns, one after the other, and the sequence of the past ages becomes the model or paradigm for the organization of contemporary time and space. León-Portilla perceptively formulates this point:

34) *Anales de Cuauhtitlán*, p. 60.

35) See León-Portilla's discussion of the "spatialization of time" in Nahuatl cosmology in his *Aztec Thought and Culture*, pp. 25-61 and *passim*. See also his distinction between the "horizontal" and "vertical" cosmologies in relation to conceptions of time in his *Tiempo y realidad en el pensamiento maya* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1968), pp. 65-93.

To each of the four fundamental gods, to each of the four directions, a specified period of time within the Fifth Age was allotted for domination and subordination. This division of time gave rise to the years of the East, of the North, of the West, and of the South.³⁶⁾

The fifth Sun is a synthesis of the four simple, discrete and autonomous ages into a single, complex, quadripartite period. As León-Portilla implies, the model for the organization of time and space in the contemporary age is the sequence of battles and sacrifices which define the history of the universe. Human time, as it is measured in the calendars, continuously rehearses the forms and patterns of cosmic time, as it is told in the myths.³⁷⁾

This correspondence is most apparent in the parallelism which León-Portilla noted between the ages of the world and the year-directional associations of the periods of the calendars. The homologies which might be shown between the periods of cosmic and calendrical time are numerous and we here mention what is only the most obvious structural identity between the two.

Of special importance in the Mexican systems for counting time were the four days and day names "Reed", "Flint", "House" and "Rabbit". On the first sheet of the *Codex Féjerváry-Mayer* each of these four day names appears in connection with one of the four horizontal quadrants of the universe and also represents the division of the *treceñas*, the thirteen day "weeks" of the 260 day calendar, into four groups of sixty-five days each.³⁸⁾ Each of the four groups was "ruled" by one of the four day names. As is well known, these same four day names also functioned in the calendars as "year-bearers". The calen-

36) León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture*, p. 54. In spite of this important insight about the structure of the ages of the world he continues to speak of their organizing logic as being one of "evolution," in *ibid.*, pp. 42, 46, and in *Pre-Colombian Literatures of Mexico*, p. 34.

37) By interpreting the sequence of the Suns in this manner we reduce the disagreements over their order in the variants by almost half. Furthermore, although the five sources which come from Tenochtitlan are usually seen to disagree on the order of the Suns, if the first four ages (but not the fifth) are set in a cyclical sequence, as we have argued they must be, then all five variants agree on the cyclical sequence, *ehécatl*, *quiyahuítl*, *atl*, *ocelotl*, *ehécatl*, etc. Two of the versions of *Ixtlilxóchitl* also agree with this order. Only the *Anales de Cuauhtitlán* and the variant preserved by Motolinía are in agreement on a different sequence (*atl*, *ocelotl*, *quiyahuítl*, *ehécatl*, etc.).

38) *Codex Féjerváry-Mayer. Commentary by Dr. Eduard Seler*, trans. by A. H. Keane (London: Duke of Loubat, 1901).

dars were so constructed that every year of 365 days would begin on one of these four days, in the above sequence, and would remain under the influence of the sign throughout its course. According to Sahagún:

... the four year-bearers [are]—Reed, Flint, House and Rabbit. Thus do the year-bearers go describing circles, whirling about as a measure of time.³⁹⁾

Further, each complete cycle of the four year-bearers, completed every four years, was marked ritually by a ceremony held in the month *izcalli*, underlining the significance of this cycle.⁴⁰⁾ Finally, the same four day names in sequence, also mark out four periods of thirteen years in the complete fifty-two year cycle of the two time-counting systems. The bearers, along with the thirteen year periods, were associated with one of the four quadrants.

The time-counting systems are made up throughout of cycles, sub-cycles and supercycles consisting of four discrete periods and quadrants of time and space. Each complete cycle is structurally identical to the sequence of the four Suns, synthesized into a complete period, the fifth Sun. In this sense the fifth age "follows" the previous four ages much in the way the complete cycle of the Calendar Round can be said to "follow" the days, "weeks", and years which constitute it.⁴¹⁾ It stands to them as the whole does to its parts.

The connection between the ages of the world and the four year-bearers is made explicit in two of the variants of the myth of the Suns. In the *Leyenda de los Soles* each of the first four Suns is identified with one of the year-bearers. The inhabitants of the first Sun were devoured by wild animals, "And their year was '1 Reed'," the text reports, using the name of the year-bearer; "And thereupon they began

39) Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex. Book 2, The Ceremonies*, trans. with notes by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble (Santa Fe: School of American Research and the University of Utah, 1951), p. 97. See also, Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España*, II, 388-93.

40) The four year ritual in *izcalli* is described by Sahagún in *Book 2, The Ceremonies*, pp. 33-34, 150-52, 177. Interestingly, Sahagún adds that four captives, each impersonating the god Xiuhtecutli, the "Fire God", were dressed in one of four colors, blue, yellow, white and red. Torquemada, *Los veinte i un libros*, p. 300, states that *izcalli* "quiere decir: resucitado, o el de la resurrección..."

41) Jacques Soustelle, "Observations sur le symbolisme du nombre cinq chez les anciens mexicains," *Actes du XXVIII^e Congrès International des Américanistes*, (1948), pp. 495-503.

to be eaten on a day sign, '4 Jaguar'," the name of the first Sun. Each of the following three Suns is likewise set in relation to one of the four year-bearers. ⁴²⁾

On the "Aztec Calendar Stone" the four ages are arranged in spatial relation to these same four day names. A line drawn from the center of the stone continuing through the center of the glyph "4 Water" will bisect the day sign "Reed". Similarly, lines drawn from the center and extending through the middle of the glyphs "4 Jaguar", "4 Wind", and "4 Rain of Fire" will, if continued, bisect the day-glyphs "Flint", "House" and "Rabbit", respectively.

No small part of the religious significance of the time-counting systems lay in the fact that in their formal structures (if not always in content) they were logically consistent extensions and replications of the *sequence* of the exemplary actions and periods of sovereignty held by the gods in the first four ages of the world. The duty of man "to collaborate with the gods", as Alfonso Caso aptly phrased it, is based in the structures of time and space. ⁴³⁾ Living in an orderly world demands that men live according to the pattern of the paradigmatic actions of the gods in the myths.

According to the myth of the Suns the structures of time and space antedate "human" time. They come into being as a result of the battles and sacrifices of the gods, prior to the contemporary age. They are, therefore, "real" and "lasting" in that they remain unaffected by anything happening *within* the time and space of the contemporary age. The truly crucial periods were precisely those which had no order and definition to them, and which stood "between times"—the five day period known as *nemontemi* falling at the end of each year, and the interval which occurred every fifty-two years when the calendar systems had run full circle and another count had not yet set in.

We have no intention of trying to reduce the complexities of central Mexican eschatological beliefs to the almost formal logic of the system of world periods. There appear to have been several different cycles of beliefs about the end of the world which were never fully har-

⁴²⁾ Strictly speaking this is accurate. The manuscript, however, sets up the following relationships: 4 Jaguar-1 Reed; 4 Wind-1 Flint; 4 Rain of Fire-1 Flint; 4 Water-1 House. It appears that the text may be in error in repeating the name "1 Flint" where one would expect the name "1 House", and that "1 House" therefore falls in the position where the name "1 Rabbit" would be expected.

⁴³⁾ Caso, *The Aztecs*, pp. 12-14.

monized with the another.⁴⁴) Nonetheless, the myth of the Suns does involve a conception of the inevitable end of the universe which is as unique as the organization of the Suns.

At the conclusion of the fifty-two year cycle the permutations of the calendar systems were exhausted and the counts would then begin anew to continue for another fifty-two years. In this time the "New Fire Ceremony" or ritual "Binding of the Years" was held, a ceremony which functioned to reinstate the pattern of the mythical Suns and the structures of the calendars. It was accomplished by repeating in ritual the dramatic event by which this pattern was first established, the sacrifices of the gods in the sacred hearth at Teotihuacán. Sahagún furnishes a description of the ceremony:

...at the end of the fifty-two year cycle they observed a very solemn feast and made a new fire, and extinguished all the old [fires]. And all the provinces of this New Spain took of this new fire. Then they renewed all the statues of the idols and all their adornments, as well as the intention of serving them for the next fifty-two years. And also they had a prophecy or oracle of the devil that at [the end of] one of these periods the world would come to an end.⁴⁵)

With the conclusion of the fifty-two year cycle, the future, as Sahagún says, was problematic. If the efforts of the priests were unsuccessful the world would end forever:

44) One cycle of myths is recorded by Durán in his *Historia de las indias de Nueva España*, II, 215-24. It tells how the *mexica* tribal god Huizilopochtli left his mother, Coatlicue, to find the tribe a home and assist them in settling the land and in waging war against other groups. After this "pilgrimage" was completed, Huizilopochtli would return home and the peoples he had conquered, "these same will turn against me, they will pick up my feet and throw me headfirst onto the floor, and I and my weapons will roll on the floor." Another, better known, cycle of myths tell of the adventures of Ce Acatl Topiltzin Quetzalcóatl in the Toltec capitol of Tollan, of his leaving, his wanderings and promised return, and of his metamorphosis into the morning star. Variants of this story are found in Book 3 of the *Florentine Codex*, in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlán*, the *Leyenda de los Soles*, the *Histoire du Mexique*, the *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*, and in the histories of Durán, Mendieta and Motolinía. The return of Quetzalcóatl was feared by the Mexican emperor Moctezuma, and tales of the arrival of the Spaniards led to an identification of Cortez with Quetzalcóatl, as both Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España*, II, 507, 510, 514-16, 541, and Sahagún (throughout Book 12) amply testify. Still another group of beliefs relative to the end of the world appear in some of the late pre-Conquest poetry, which we will mention at the conclusion of this study.

45) Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex. Book 5, The Omens*, trans. with notes by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble (Santa Fe: School of American Research and the University of Utah, 1957), p. 138.

And when it came to pass that night fell, all were frightened and filled with dread. Thus it was said: it was claimed that if the fire could not be drawn, then [the sun] would be destroyed forever; all would be ended; there would evermore be night. Nevermore would the sun come forth. Night would prevail forever . . . ⁴⁶⁾

The completion of the fifty-two year cycle and the fifth age concurrently mark "*la rupture, la fissure fatale*" of the system. ⁴⁷⁾ The end of the "Sun 4 Motion" involved a complete and total destruction of the world, after which "there would evermore be night". With the end of the fifth Sun the system has collapsed.

It is striking that the variants of the myth are totally silent on the possibility of any future Suns following the fifth age, yet this silence is perfectly consistent with the system we have outlined. ⁴⁸⁾ It is as though, within this way of organizing the history of the world, the question cannot logically arise. The first four Suns begin and end. The fifth Sun is the synthesis of these Suns within a single age. The fifth age exists only so long as the four Suns follow their proper course within it. When they do not, when the pattern cannot be recovered, the world ends forever. A "sixth Sun", quite literally, is inconceivable. ⁴⁹⁾ The world ends forever when the structures which confer sense, meaning and order on reality no longer apply.

In order to postpone the cataclysm the Mexicans enacted the event through which the fifth Sun first began. Annie Dorsinfang-Smets has argued that certain of the rituals may profitably be looked on as "a

46) Sahagún, *Book 7, The Sun, Moon, and the Stars*, p. 27.

47) Dorsinfang-Smets, "Fins du monde en Amérique précolombienne," p. 84.

48) The sole exception we have been able to find is in Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex. Book 10, The People*, trans. with notes by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble (Santa Fe: School of American Research and the University of Utah, 1961), p. 190, where it was said that: "When the world is become oppressed, when it is the end of the world, at the time of its ending, he will come to bring it to an end. But [until then] you shall dwell here; you shall stand guard here. That which lieth here, that which spreadeth germinating, that which resteth in the earth, is your merit, your gift. He maketh it your birthright. For this you followed him here." Even so, the remark appears to reflect more the ideology surround the election of the *mexica* by Huizilopochtli, than the more widespread Nahuatl traditions about the five Suns. See also the *Cantares mexicanos*, trans. and ed. Ángel María Garibay K., as *Poesía Náhuatl II, Cantares mexicanos: Manuscrito de la Biblioteca Nacional de México, Primera Parte* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1965), p. 46.

49) Among those who argue that a "sixth age" was expected to follow the present one are Charency, Séjourné and Burland.

reactualization of the cosmogonic myth".⁵⁰⁾ More particularly, Eduard Seler, Hermann Beyer and Soustelle have all viewed the several fire sacrifices in central Mexican religions as imitations of the first sacrifice of Nanahuatzin.⁵¹⁾

The "New Fire Ceremony" and ritual "Binding of the Years" is a rite of renewal, similar in form and purpose to other such rites whose characteristics are well-known.⁵²⁾ According to Sahagún, the old fires were extinguished and the old utensils and household goods were also destroyed:

First they put out fires everywhere in the country round. And the statues, hewn in either wood or stone, kept in each man's home and regarded as gods, were all cast into the water. Also [were] these [cast away]—the pestles and the [three] hearth stones [upon which the cooking pots rested]; and everywhere there was much sweeping—there was sweeping very clean. Rubbish was thrown out; none lay in any of the houses.⁵³⁾

The ceremonial destruction of icons, implements and clothing is a familiar motif in "New Year's" rites throughout Mesoamerica.⁵⁴⁾ In this case, the destruction and renewal of goods was set in a mythic and cosmic framework.

The ceremony began at nightfall with a procession of "Fire Priests", each of whom impersonated one of the Mexican gods, recalling the assembly of the gods at Teotihuacán. A fresh fire was drawn on the chest of a sacrificial victim and subsequently the fire was carried to various places throughout the region.⁵⁵⁾ With the coming of the dawn

50) Dorsinfang-Smets, "Fins du monde en Amérique précolombienne," p. 80, and "Fins du Monde Successives," p. 9.

51) Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, 1039; Herman Beyer, "El origen natural del dios mexicano Xiuhtecútl," *El México Antiguo*, X (1965), 312; Soustelle, *La pensée*, p. 20.

52) Eliade, *Myth and Reality*, pp. 39-53.

53) Sahagún, *Book 7, The Sun, Moon, and Stars*, p. 25.

54) As, for example, among the Yucatec Maya, according to the description of Diego de Landa, *Landa's Relación de las Cosas de Yucatan*, trans. with notes by A. M. Tozzer (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Paper of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1941), pp. 151-52.

55) For a description see: Sahagún, *Book 7, The Sun, Moon, and Stars*, pp. 29-30, and Motolinía, *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España*, ed. Edmundo O'Gorman (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1969), p. 31. Immediately after the fire was drawn it was taken to the temple of Huizilopochtli, from there to the *calmecac*, the priestly schools, then to other temples, the *tetelpochcalli* or "young men's houses," the wards and neighborhoods of the city and finally into the homes of the people. This sequence reflects with accuracy the religious and

a new cycle of fifty-two years began. The fire in which Nanahuatzin immolated himself was rekindled every fifty-two years to bind together once again the powers, elements and forces of the universe. Structurally analogous to the creation of a "Sun", it represented the re-establishment of the most basic patterns for organizing time and space.⁵⁶) Like the mythical sacrifices of the gods, the "New Fire Sacrifice" opened a period of order and balance which would endure until the possibilities and permutations within the cycle had been actualized; then the ritual of renewal would be repeated. The fifty-two year ceremonial establishes not only a new age but a cosmology, by incorporating past times and spaces into a single highly structured cosmos.

By this point it is clear that many of the parallels and similarities which have been pointed out between the myth of the Suns and the Indian, Greek and Iranian systems of great cosmic cycles and world ages belie a much more important difference. Whereas the Indian tales of the *kalpas*, *yugas*, *mahayugas*, *manvantras* and "Incalculables" consistently picture the present world age as the nadir of the cycle of universal history, the Mexican myth does not.⁵⁷) In fact, the myth of the Suns appears unique to the degree that the customary terms for classifying "philosophies of history" have little application to it. In the Mexican myth the fifth Sun is neither an evolution beyond the earlier ages nor is it a decline from them. The history of the world does not unfold either according to a pattern of "progress", "degeneration", or "in spiral form". Nor does the sequence of the Suns reveal a "linear"

political hierarchy of Tenochtitlan, indicating that the ceremony also served the purpose of strengthening and renewing the societal and political structures. It should also be noted that the ceremonial laying of a new fire was customary before beginning any number of important enterprises, such as battles, the dedication of buildings, and so on. See: Sahagún, *Florentine Codex. Book 8, Kings and Lords*, trans. with notes by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble (Santa Fe: School of American Research and the University of Utah, 1954), pp. 53-54, and *Book 10, The People*, pp. 190-91.

56) It is likely that this quadripartite cosmology also functioned as a system of classification. The four divisions of colors, winds, gods, *tlaloques*, games such as *patolli* and *el volador*, the "Venus periods", sacrificing to the four directions, the symbolism of the second of the monthly feasts with its "gladitorial sacrifice", the four divisions of Tenochtitlan, and so forth, all conform to this fundamental pattern.

57) For a summary of the sources and meaning of the Indian cosmic cycles, see Mircea Eliade, "Time and Eternity in Indian Thought," *Man and Time: Papers From the Eranos Yearbooks*, ed. Joseph Campbell (New York: Pantheon Books, 1957), pp. 173-200.

or a "cyclical" pattern in the history of the universe. The Sun "4 Motion" is both the *final* age of the world (in "linear" terms) and the continuous *repetition* of the ages (in "cyclical" terms).

Nonetheless, the uniqueness of the Nahua vision of the organization of the ages of the world does not imply that there are not important structural and functional comparisons which can be made with other myths, theologies and philosophies of cosmic cycles. It does mean that such comparisons must be sought at a level above the isolated motifs, details, numerology, color and directional associations of the systems. The historian of religions, Mircea Eliade, has remarked on how religions often draw a close connection between the great periods of mythical and cosmic time and the organization of the calendars. He says, "Man only repeats the act of creation; his religious calendar commemorates, in the space of a year, all the cosmogonic phases which took place *ab origine*." 58)

Others have pointed to a similar relation holding between the cycles of world ages and the organization of "secular" and liturgical calendars. Henri Corbin discovered the pattern of the ages of the world in the liturgical calendar of Zoroastrian Mazdaism, and further examples could be cited from Babylonia, Greece and India. 59) In each case, as the myths relate it, the contemporary world period is more than simply the extension or product of the preceeding eras. Rather, the earlier ages of the world lie within the present age as the system and ground of its order and structure. In many such myths the emphasis is no longer on the genuinely "creative" acts of the gods or on the gifts they provide to man. Instead the focus has shifted to the logic of the *sequence* of their actions, for it is this logic which is the order of the present world age. 60) This is apparent in the Mexican myth of the

58) Mircea Eliade, *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1954), p. 22.

59) Henri Corbin, "Cyclical Time in Mazdaism and Ismailism," *Man and Time: Papers From the Eranos Yearbooks*, ed. Joseph Campbell (New York: Pantheon Books, 1957), pp. 124-25; Franz Cumont, *Astrology and Religion Among the Greeks and Romans* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), pp. 60-61; see also the example of the Hindu *Holi* festival cited in McKim Marriot, "The Feast of Love," in *Krishna: Myths, Rites and Attitudes*, ed. Milton Singer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 212.

60) Cf. Eliade's observation that with the rise of "historical" civilizations, "The accent is now on what *happened* to the gods... What appears more and more

Suns where it is the order of the battles, defeats, victories and sacrifices of the gods which provides the structural paradigm for the cosmology of the contemporary "historical" world.

One other aspect of the myth of the Suns requires a brief comment in conclusion. Much less attention has been given to the implications of the primordial time and place of the high god, Tonacatecutli-Tonacáhuatl, than to the order and details of the several Suns. In the myth it is significant that the "oldest" time (that of the uncreated god) is identified with the "highest" place (the thirteenth heaven). Creation and birth of the universe and of individuals alike proceed from the top of the universe.⁶¹) Although we cannot here more fully explore the religious implications of this "vertical" cosmology, it should be noted that the most radical rebellion against the structure and order of creation in central Mexico was consistently formulated in terms of the undifferentiated space and unchanging eternity of the high god, residing at the summit of the world.

It is especially in the late pre-Conquest poetry of some of the kings, nobles and wisemen that the act of birth comes to be seen as the beginning of enstrangement and abandonment by the high god and as the source of "orphanhood".⁶²) The creation of the world, its history through the world ages, and life "on the earth" amounts ultimately only to a "dream", an "illusion" and a "joke". Concurrent with this cosmological shift from an "horizontal" to a "vertical" perspective, explicitly soteriological convictions come to the fore. The goal of life is no longer one of preserving and renewing the order of the world

important is no longer the *result* of the adventure but the *sequence of dramatic events* which constitute it." *Myth and Reality*, p. 110.

61) On the cosmological symbolism of birth as a "descent" from the high god Ometéotl, see Sahagún, *Florentine Codex. Book 6, Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy*, trans. with notes by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble (Santa Fe: School of American Research and the University of Utah, 1969), 135, 141, 151, 168, 183 and *passim*.

62) This is most evidently the case with the genre of poetry known as *icnocuicatli*, the "Songs of Orphanhood", or "Songs of Desolation", scattered throughout the *Cantares mexicanos*, and the *Romances de los Señores de la Nueva España*. The latter has been translated with notes by Ángel María Garibay K. as *Poesía Náhuatl I. Romances de los Señores de la Nueva España: Manuscrito de Juan Bautista de Pomar, Texcoco, 1852* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1964). See also the commentary on these poems by Garibay K. in his *Historia de la literatura Náhuatl*, I (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1953), 189-207.

through myth, ritual taxonomy and conquest, but to transcend it, to reverse the acts of descend into the world of birth, and to ascend to *omeyocan* at the top of the world.

A similar shift in consciousness and orientation has been found in other religious traditions. In the Gnostic rebellion against the dominant religious forms in the Hellenistic world:

... reality is discovered to lie not within the cosmos as ordered through creation, but above the world... The aim of existence is seen to be to escape the constricted confines of one's place.⁶³⁾

From the perspective of the "vertical" cosmology and from the standpoint of the primordial time and space of *omeyocan*, to exist within the order and structure of the fifth Sun is to live in "nothing" and in "oblivion".

¡ Tú te estás mofando; nada somos,
 en nada nos tienes,
 tú nos aniquilas, tu nos destruyes aquí! ⁶⁴⁾

 En vano nací,
 En vano salí de la casa del dios
 a la tierra:
 ¡ Soy un desdichado! ⁶⁵⁾

Many other examples of similar sentiments could be cited. What we here stress is that the structure and form of the transcendent "un-created god" is inherent in the myth of the Suns. The tension is between two religious perspectives on the world, the one based in form and the other in formlessness. The one recognizes and affirms the mythical and extra-human origins of order, the other doubts its adequacy and value. In pre-Hispanic central Mexican religions the one perspective implies the other. The horizontal cosmos implies a vertical world standing above and below it. The series of Suns implies a primordial and unchanging source standing before and after them. The orderly sequence of "time-places" of the calendars implies the unformed interstices which separate them. As one unifying system in Mexican and Nahua religions, the myth of the Suns provides a context in which the individual and social, and the "mythical" and "philosophical" religious strands can be further investigated against the background of an ordered cosmology.

63) Jonathan Z. Smith, "Birth Upside Down or Right Side Up?" *History of Religions*, IX (May, 1970), 303.

64) *Cantares mexicanos*, p. 124.

65) *Romances*, p. 56; cf. *Cantares mexicanos*, p. 126.

KILLING IN SACRIFICE: THE MOST PROFOUND EXPERIENCE OF GOD?

BY

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Walter Burkert, co-editor of the outstanding monograph series *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*,¹⁾ recently advanced a hypothesis which, on account of its apparently revolutionary character, deserves a critical evaluation that goes beyond what is usually expected and offered in an ordinary book review. In his study *Homo Necans. Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen*²⁾ Burkert claims that in "der Religion der Griechen" as in others "der Gott am mächtigsten erlebt <wird>", "nicht im frommen Lebenswandel, nicht in Gebet, Gesang und Tanz allein... sondern im tödlichen Axthieb, im verrinnenden Blut und im Verbrennen der Schenkelstücke", and that the "Grunderlebnis des 'Heiligen'... die Opfertötung <ist>. Der homo religiosus agiert und wird sich seiner selbst bewusst als homo necans."³⁾

Dr. Burkert's book has been published by a company of particular stature and renown in a high calibre monograph series, a fact which already by itself would appear to recommend it for special attention in the world of learning, and, as far as the formal aspects of Burkert's treatise are concerned, one might not expect to be disappointed. Text and footnotes attest that the author has widely read and gathered a lot of information in his own fields of interest (Greek religion and the comparative study of religions) and in such others he considered relevant for his study.

I

However, one cannot but dispute not only matters, terminology, and semantics of detail, but even more so Burkert's principal method

1) Together with Carsten Colpe: Berlin-New York (Walter de Gruyter).

2) Volume 32 of foregoing series, 1972, xii. 356 pp. DM 88.00.

3) *Ibid.* 8 f.

and, in the process of its employment, his interpretations of passages and/or facts which, in view of the *communis opinio* of scholars in the fields concerned, are untenable, because Burkert did not respect their relevant contexts appropriately.

For instance, I note that one should, surely, not refer, as Burkert does on p. 19 of his book, to relics from pre-Islamic times in the ceremonies connected with the *Ḥadždj*, especially the mass-slaughter of sheep, goats, and the occasional camel on the 10th *Dhu -l-Ḥidždja*, the *jaṣm al-aḏāḥī*, as evidence for the importance of sacrifice and, in particular, the act of killing for the religious inter-communication between Muslims and their god. Even Burkert cannot and does not claim that one could consider the sacrifice at Mina other than just one element among many. Yet, as he marshals his arguments, the whole matter seems to have much greater significance for Muslimic life than it has in reality: "Der Geheilgte ist es, der tötet, der Akt des Tötens ist sakralisiert. 'Im Namen Allahs', 'Allah ist gnädig', das sind Formeln, die jedes Schlachten der Mohammedaner begleiten".⁴⁾ As a matter of fact, not only are phrases such as "*bismi -llāh*" and "*Allāhu -rraḥīmu*" common place in all affairs in the daily life of the Muslim, the continuing custom of Muslims to sacrifice at the occasion of a religious festival of highest rank need not and does not by itself attest to the motive(s) for such acts.⁵⁾ Nor does Dr. Burkert appear to have recognised that the form of the slaughter of the victims differs markedly from such in other cults. There is no altar, the ritual is rather indistinctly prescribed and followed, if so at all — one can also fast instead. If "Entsetzen, Beseligung und Anerkennung absoluter Autorität, mysterium tremendum, fascinans and augustum . . ., das Erlebnis des Heiligen, am packendsten und eindringlichsten . . . im Opferritual verbunden <sind>: der Schock von tödlichem Schlag und verrinnendem Blut, die leib-seelische Wonne festlichen Essens, die strenge Ordnung, die das ganze umgibt: das . . . sacra schlechthin <sind> "τὰ ἱερά" and "vor allem die Jugend . . . diesem 'Heiligen'

4) *Ibid.* 19.

5) If this were not so, one might, perhaps, think of an intention to create communion which seems to have been recognised first as a distinctive type of its own by W. Robertson Smith in his famous *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, London 1889 (reprint: New York: The Meridian Library/Meridian Books, 1956); cf. through index.

immer wieder begegnen <muss>, um sich die Tradition der Väter so zu eigen zu machen", ⁶⁾ and if "die beharrliche Kontinuität des Opferrituals aus diesen seinen sozialen Funktionen zu verstehen ist", ⁷⁾ then the events of the *yawm al-aḏāḥī*, clearly, do not fall in the category of sacrifice that is so characterised or, if, however, Burkert's "homo necans" motif, as represented in the foregoing quotations, is supposed to apply to *all* forms of sacrifice involving the act of killing — and Burkert wishes to convince his readers of this throughout his book —, then this cannot but be an erroneous generalisation.

How much Burkert bends facts and statements in order to gain a common denominator for all kinds of sacrifice "als Todesbegegnung, als Tötungshandlung, die doch den Fortbestand des Lebens und seiner Nahrung verbürgt", ⁸⁾ may be recognised also from his misleading and, actually, outright incorrect interpretation of Isaiah 1:11 as alleged "Kritik, die die blutige Gewalttat als solche verdammt". ⁹⁾ For this discussion, it may suffice to refer not only again to the context of the passage in question, but, specifically, also to the intelligent discussion of Isaiah's position in relation to sacrifice and cultic worship in principle in Hans Wildberger's commentary on this biblical book. ¹⁰⁾

To what degree Burkert gets caught in a morass of erroneous and contradictory arguments by his attempt to establish a generally valid motif — and then *his* motif! — of sacrifice across the board, so to speak, of, at least, a number of, if not all, religions can be seen from pages 9 and 15 relating to the importance of "Opfertötung" als "Grunderlebnis des 'Heiligen'" for Israel and Hellenistic Jewry:

When he claims that it was "nicht anders ... auch in Israel bis zur Zerstörung des Tempels" ¹¹⁾ than in "der Religion der Griechen", and when he tries to support this claim regarding *pre-exilic* Israel — so untenable in view of all we know of the various roots of and sen-

6) Burkert 51.

7) *Loc. cit.*

8) *Ibid.* 326.

9) *Ibid.* 14 f.

10) *Jesaja* volume X/I of *Biblischer Kommentar — Altes Testament*, Neukirchen — Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins GMBH 1965-72, 37 ff.

11) Burkert 9.

timents¹²⁾ on the various types of Israelitic sacrifice¹³⁾ —, he chooses — hard to believe! — the *post-exilic* innovative passage of Leviticus 6 : 9.

On the other hand, while Burkert acknowledges¹⁴⁾ that the desecration of the temple in Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes¹⁵⁾ has been a serious threat to Jewish orthopraxy and orthodoxy, he claims¹⁶⁾ that it was of great importance for the expansion of the Diaspora Jewry to have become “praktisch zu einer Religion ohne Tieropfer”. This implies that Burkert sees fundamental differences between two types of Hellenistic Jewry, those within the Palestinian mother-country and such abroad. Actually, Reinhold Mayer¹⁷⁾ has noted quite succinctly what the factual situation was, and we refer to his statement in this context, because it appears to stand up very well in its brevity for the *communis opinio* of scholars in the field: “Im nach-exilischen *Judentum* zeigte der O<pfer> vollzug eine Vielschichtigkeit je nach geographischer Lage (Land Israel-Diaspora) und geschichtlicher Situation . . . Bei aller Spannung und Kontroverse wurde die wesensmässige Einheit von *Kultus und Ethik*, von O<pfer> und Gehorsam fast immer festgehalten. Im Zentrum stand das tägliche Doppel-O<pfer> (hebr<äisch> *tāmid*) der Priester am Brand-O<pfer> altar (Sir<ach> 45 : 14), durch Sonder-O<pfer> und Fest-O<pfer> ergänzt. Fern diesen O<pfer>n, blieben Diaspora-

12) On page 34 Burkert mistakenly criticises A. R. Radcliffe-Brown for the use of this word. As everybody sufficiently proficient in English knows, “sentiments” is much stronger than German “Gefühl(e)” comprising also the element of “Gedanken”.

13) Instructive short surveys by L. Rost, “Opfer I” in *Biblisch-Historisches Handwörterbuch* volume II, Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1964, 1345 ff. and R. Hentschke, “Opfer II. Im AT” in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* volume IV, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) 1960, 1641 ff.

14) Burkert 9.

15) Though not in the way Burkert translates and interprets Daniel 8 : 11, especially, without regard to 8 : 12 f. and other related statements in the book of Daniel (whereby Antiochus Epiphanes “merely” replaced the *tāmid* by what is transcribed in this instance by *peša*^c and *peša*^c *šōmēm* and appears to refer to the sacrifice to the Olympian Zeus, as has been discussed at great length by a number of distinguished scholars for quite some time [cf., for instance, the summary in A. Bentzen, *Daniel* volume 19 of *Handbuch zum Alten Testament* 1st series, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck] 1952 2nd ed., 56.68.70. 82 f.]).

16) Burkert 15.

17) In his article “Opfer II” in *Biblisch-Historisches Handwörterbuch* volume II (cf. above n. 13) 1350.

juden und Palästinajuden bei ihren Haus- und Synagogengottesdiensten doch dem Jerusalemer O<pfer>dienst stark verbunden... Nur am Rande zeigte sich aufgeklärte Kritik. Die Konkurrenz der O<pfer>stätte im äg<yptischen> Leontopolis wurde nie entscheidend." Thus, the *vis à vis* has *not* been Palestinian Judaism versus Diaspora Jewry, but the cultic worship in Jerusalem versus the various impediments to such in all other areas combining both the remainder of Palestine and other realms of the Ancient World, or, as we may also put it, the force of centralism versus tendencies towards decentralisation as a direct continuation from pre-exilic times.

II

Sacrifices having many different forms and various motives, as has been hitherto observed by most, if not all, scholars, one is probably inclined to ask Burkert why he tries to construe a *homo necans* as the highest potential and realisation of the *homo religiosus*.

Surely, also Burkert can occasionally concede slight differences between sacrifices, yet for him "<ist> frappierend ... jenseits des Details doch die Gemeinsamkeit des Handelns und Erlebens, von Athen über Jerusalem bis Babylon", ¹⁸⁾ and he considers himself even entitled to trace the sacrifice, "die älteste Form der religiösen Handlung", ¹⁹⁾ to the Palaeolithicum. As, in his view, "der Mensch ... zum Menschen <wurde> durch das Jägertum, durch den Akt des Tötens", ²⁰⁾ there is for Burkert like some others before him ²¹⁾ a "Kontinuität vom Jägertum zum Opferritus" noticeable "besonders eindringlich in Einzelheiten des Rituals, die keine archäologisch fassbaren Spuren hinterlassen". ²²⁾ Burkert seems to feel that he needs a generally valid motif for sacrifice, in order to fortify his interpretation of Greek religion, so much in opposition to most other scholars in the fields of Classics and the History of Religions, including such as Nathan Söderblom, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, ²³⁾

18) Quotation from Burkert 18, but cf. already pages 16 f.

19) Quoting H. Kühn, Burkert 21.

20) Burkert 30.

21) *Ibid.* 24 f., n. 21.22.

22) *Ibid.* 24.

23) Cf., especially, Wilamowitz' *Der Glaube der Hellenen* 2 volumes, Berlin 1931-32, reprint: Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft e.V. 1955, through index I under "Opfer".

Martin P. Nilsson,²⁴⁾ and Gerardus van der Leeuw.²⁵⁾ If his claims would hold true, at least, for most religions, one would, presumably, not be surprised to find the "homo necans" motif attested also for "die Religion der alten Griechen".²⁶⁾ Claiming to have gained "eine konsequent historische Perspektive, die bis auf die Anfänge des Menschen zurückreicht",²⁷⁾ although "<es dabei> trotz prähistorischer und volkskundlicher Belege . . . nicht ohne hypothetische Ergänzungen und Verallgemeinerungen ab<ging>"²⁸⁾ and, admittedly, his "Grundlage" can only be considered "hypothetisch",²⁸⁾ Burkert informs his readers that "im Zentrum" of his treatise "immer die griechische Überlieferung <steht>, freilich mit dem Anspruch, wesentliche Stationen im Hauptstrom der menschlichen Entwicklung zu erhellen . . . Es ist" in the process of his interpretation "nicht so sehr die Eigenart des Griechischen, die dabei wichtig ist, so viel von dieser Eigenart zu rühmen ist; der anthropologische Aspekt überwiegt den humanistischen. Wohl aber bewährt sich die besondere Ursprünglichkeit und Luzidität des Griechischen gerade hier: es kann gewissermaßen als Spiegel dienen, in dem die weit hinter uns liegenden Grundordnungen des Lebens in fast schon klassischer Deutlichkeit sichtbar werden".²⁹⁾

Apart from a number of questions one may raise, such as, for instance, whether historians can really concur with Burkert's views of what properly constitutes a "historical perspective", we note, foremost, that Burkert sets out of from what he wishes or assumes to be the general, expecting to understand the individual, and, thence, he hopes to comprehend the general, each helping the other.

However, as everyone reading his book can easily recognise, Burkert gains his picture of the allegedly general socio-religious and anthropological situation by drawing heavily on the individual, i.e. materials

24) *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion* volume I, in *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* V.2.1, Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung 1955, 45 ff., 132 ff.

25) "Die do-ut-des Formel in der Opfertheorie", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* XX, 1920-21, 241-253, and *Phänomenologie der Religion*, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) 2nd ed. 1956, especially, 393 ff.

26) Burkert 4, cf. *ibid.* 8.

27) *Ibid.* 5.

28) *Ibid.* 97.

29) *Ibid.* 5.

relating to sacrifices in the Hellenic World³⁰⁾ and, thus, confuses the issue still further: in order to strengthen B through A,³¹⁾ he creates A with the use of B! Yet, why should one be surprised at this? For Burkert "Hypothese und Anwendung bestätigen sich gegenseitig, wenn auch keines ganz für sich stehen kann".³²⁾

Moreover, Burkert considers himself a "Philologe, der von altgriechischen Texten aus biologisch-psychologisch-soziologische Erklärungen religiöser Phänomene versucht",³³⁾ for him Sigmund Freud "wies die Richtung" that "Aggression, Gewalttätigkeit des Menschen gegen den Menschen, wie sie inmitten unseres zivilisatorischen Fortschritts zutage tritt . . . , . . . zu einem Zentralproblem der Gegenwart geworden <ist>",³⁴⁾ and, beyond this, he considers valid "dass alle³⁵⁾ Ordnungen und Herrschaftsformen menschlicher Gesellschaft auf institutionalisierter Gewalt beruhen"³⁶⁾ and that "ihr . . . die fundamentale Rolle der intraspezifischen Aggression" "entspricht", "die Konrad Lorenz im biologischen Bereich aufgezeigt hat. Wer aber Erlösung von diesem 'sogenannten Bösen' in der Religion erhofft, sieht sich der Tatsache gegenüber, dass selbst die Grundlage des Christentums ein Mord ist, das unschuldige Sterben des Gottessohns, wie auch schon der Bundesschluss des Alten Testaments das fast vollzogene Opfer des Sohnes durch Abraham voraussetzt. Gerade in der Mitte der Religion droht faszinierend blutige Gewalt".³⁷⁾

For Burkert, "die Religion der Griechen" has the same "Tiefendimension".³⁸⁾ Consequently, when he declares that "Ziel der Darstellung" through his book "ist, Phänomene sichtbar und verständlich zu

30) Cf. *ibid.* chapter I passim.

31) Cf. *ibid.* 6 last paragraph.

32) *Ibid.* 6 f.

33) *Ibid.* 1.

34) *Ibid.* 8.

35) Italics by me.

36) *Ibid.* 8. One wonders how this type of argument can come from Switzerland, being, as it is, a tremendous step backwards from what has already been worked out by Max Weber and others. Cf, perhaps, besides Weber's *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* through 5th ed. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]) 1972, 19 ff., J. Winckelmann, *Legitimität und Legalität in Max Webers Herrschaftssoziologie*, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr 1952, which contains also Max Weber's "Die drei reinen Typen der legitimen Herrschaft" first published in *Preussische Jahrbücher* volume 187, 1922, 1-12.

37) Burkert 8.

38) *Ibid.* 8.

machen" and that "dies verlangt tunliche Kürze³⁹⁾ und Beschränkung, Auswahl aus der uferlosen Fülle des Materials", ⁴⁰⁾ then this reflects his preconceived notion of the nature or character of sacrifice. Enlarging on and modifying the interpretation of some sacrifices by W. Robertson Smith as promoting communion, ⁴¹⁾ he prejudges the issue to such a degree that he subjects facts and statements to the test whether they suit to his hypothesis, instead of developing a hypothesis or even theory out of the facts and assertions. Burkert writes: "Unmöglich war es, alle Einzelfragen bis ins Detail zu diskutieren, alle Spezialliteratur vollständig anzugeben". ⁴²⁾ Precisely this to do would have been his task, if he had not preferred his dogmatic treatment of the matter of sacrifice. ⁴³⁾

It is the details in their manifold and varied characters which in the study of Greek religion and others like a proper use of terminology and semantics forbid the philosophically predetermined approach which misguided social scientists so often prefer to take nowadays. Unfortunately, like those learned 19th century theologians who tried to apply Hegel's philosophy in their impressive *Dogmatiken*, some scholars appear to forget that the terminology of the natural sciences, in particular of biology, cannot be applied to the study of history and religion without any complication, even though both branches of learning may use the same words. For instance, that "<die Biologie> seit Sir Julian Huxley und Konrad Lorenz . . . unter 'Ritus' ein Verhaltensschema <versteht>, das von seiner sachbezogenen Funktion — dem unritualisierten Vorbild — abgelöst und trotzdem beibehalten ist in einer neuen Funktion, als Mitteilung in der Gemeinschaft, die ein entsprechendes Verhalten auslöst" should prevent Burkert "vom biologischen Begriff des Ritus auszugehen". He does, exactly, the opposite.⁴⁴⁾ Lacking any traditional term in their field for the type

39) Whether Burkert's book can be considered concise, appears dubious in view of its 368 pages of which no less than 230 are devoted to the "griechische Überlieferung" itself, while the first parts offer also a considerable amount of materials on Greek religion and sacrifices.

40) *Ibid.* 7.

41) Cf. above our note 5. — For Meuli's and others' influences, cf. his references through our note 20.

42) Burkert 7.

43) Cf. his own admission of a possible interpretation of his procedure as "dogmatisch und spekulativ" *ibid.* 6.

44) *Ibid.* 31 f.

of attitude of animals they wished to characterise, biologists have borrowed from historians of religion and made adjustments to suit their needs. Surely, religious ritual is more than "das Triumphgeschnatter des Graugänsepaars, das eines äusseren Feindes zur Auslösung gar nicht mehr bedarf".⁴⁵⁾ It may have become "empty" and just serve for communicative purposes from time to time, but more often than not celebrants are quite conscious of the real and original meaning and significance of the motif of what they are doing.

The proper method of historical interpretation of all kinds of material, and this includes, of course, religion as one of the most important aspects of man's life, is still that all facts and assertions relating to a specific matter under consideration have to be fully discussed and evaluated in their complete contexts by scholars with open minds, and, until such time that new results, having been so gained, can be convincingly presented, the current *communis opinio* of the students in the fields concerned will stand as authoritative. This includes, of course, also Greek religion, the direct treatment of which by Burkert need not be discussed at greater length, than was actually done, in view of Burkert's mistaken premises of his own making with the help of equally misinterpreted facts and assertions of Greek religion.

45) *Ibid.* 32.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND MYTHIC UNITY OF THE GOD, ÓÐINN

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The picture presented to us of the god Óðinn by Snorri Sturluson,¹⁾ *The Poetic Edda*,²⁾ and Saxo Grammaticus³⁾ is complex and many-sided to an extreme degree. He is simultaneously god of magic, poetry, and death with affinities to fertility deities, god of war and father of the gods and man, with a reputation for a highly capricious nature. It is little wonder then that he has received a variety of treatments by modern scholarship and that a unified interpretation which does justice to all of his wide range of functions and characteristics is lacking. Davidson⁴⁾ discusses him primarily in terms of his function as god of war and god of the dead. Turville-Petre⁵⁾ discusses various facets separately, and then states: "Óðinn took over the names and functions of other gods."⁶⁾ Dumézil⁷⁾ has Óðinn share his "first function", the position of priest/king with Týr, emphasizing Óðinn's "magico-religious" aspects at the expense of others, specifically his position as god of war and his affinities with the fertility deities. However, Óðinn's position as a war god in the source material is quite clear, and supporting evidence for Dumézil's tripartite social structure is sufficiently lacking

1) Jean I. Young, trans., *The Prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson: Tales from Norse Mythology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

2) *The Poetic Edda*, trans. Henry Adams Bellows (New York: The American Scandinavian Foundation, 1968).

3) Saxo Grammaticus, *The Nine Books of Danish History*, trans. Oliver Elton (London, Norroena Society, 1905).

4) H. R. Ellis Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe* (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1964).

5) E. O. Turville-Petre, *Myth and Religion of the North: The Religion of Ancient Scandinavia* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964). "Odinn".

6) Turville-Petre, p. 62.

7) C. Scott Littleton, *The New Comparative Mythology: An Anthropological Assessment of the Theories of Georges Dumézil* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966) p. 12.

that he at last concludes: "... at a very early phase in the evolution of Germanic society, and for reasons not entirely clear, the first function was assimilated to the second and only traces of its independent existence . . . can be found."⁸) Folke Ström⁹) takes the fertility aspect of the god to be primary and through an examination of various symbols of fertility connected with Óðinn, especially the horse, Óðinn's magical practices, and his Dionysian poetic ecstasy, concludes that Óðinn is a hypostasis of the older fertility god Freyr. Haugen¹⁰) briefly groups Óðinn's various capacities from patriarch of gods and man to god of magic into one complex which could roughly be labeled "intellectual" and opposes this complex to the god Þórr, whom he sees as marked by the single characteristic of strength. Fleck¹¹) concentrates on Óðinn's capacity as god of wisdom, and sees this as the key to his position of power in the society of gods. He gives a detailed account of Óðinn's acquisition of knowledge and analyzes the symbolism surrounding this acquisition, concluding that Óðinn is not merely a repository of wisdom, but rather functions actively as a source of knowledge. Johannes Brøndsted¹²) says that Óðinn's characteristics cover a wide range, "from cold cynicism to Dionysian enthusiasm, from ferocity to ecstasy."

And so it seems that modern scholars have either listed the various facets of Óðinn and treated them separately, as Davidson and Turville-Petre, or have isolated specific aspects of the god and made these the focal point of their interpretation of his position in Norse mythology, as Dumézil and Ström. The purpose of this paper is therefore to present an analysis of Óðinn's character and position in the mythological system which explains his diverse and at times apparently conflicting aspects within a unified framework.

8) Littleton, p. 132.

9) Folke Ström, "Diser, Nornor, Valkyrjor: Fruktbarhetskult och Sakralt Kungadöme i Norden," *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar: Filologisk-Filosofiska Serien Första Delen* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1959).

10) Einar Haugen, "The Mythical Structure of the Ancient Scandinavians: Some Thoughts on Reading Dumézil," *To Honor Roman Jacobson: Essays on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1967).

11) Cf. Jere Fleck, "Óðinn's Self-sacrifice—A New Interpretation I: The Ritual Inversion," *Scandinavian Studies*, 43, No. 2 (1971), 119-142. "Óðinn's Self-Sacrifice—A New Interpretation II: The Ritual Landscape," *Scandinavian Studies*, 43, No. 4 (1971), 385-413. "The 'Knowledge-Criterion' in the Grímnismál: The Case Against 'Shamanism'," *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, 86 (1971), 49-65.

12) Johannes Brøndsted, *The Vikings*, trans. Kalle Skor (London: Penguin Books, 1965), p. 275.

In order to make the unity of Óðinn's character clear and in order to place this character in the system of Norse mythology, it is first necessary to assume a basically dualistic or binary structure for the Norse cosmology. Arguments for a dualistic structure have already been convincingly presented by Haugen and are implicit in Fleck's analysis.¹³⁾ In order to decode the mythic symbolism surrounding the apparently entangled and contradictory figure of this god, I will make use of the psychological theories of Erich Neumann as presented in two books: *The Great Mother: An Analysis of the Archetype* and *The Origins and History of Consciousness*. In these works Neumann also argues for an essentially dualistic structure of the human psyche and, hence, of human perception of self and the universe. In the ideal state, the two opposing halves of the psyche are interdependent, each contributing and communicating with the other half with the sum acting as an integrated whole. This structure has given rise in the course of human history to a wealth of symbolism representing both poles of the psyche and the synthesis of the integrated state. The poles, the unconscious and the conscious portions of the mind, are traditionally represented as numerous pairs of opposites, most frequent of which is the opposition of sex with female and male representing the unconscious and the conscious minds respectively.

By applying Neumann's basic theory and by using his interpretations of various mythic and cultural phenomena, it is possible to depict Óðinn as a symbolization of the integrating bond linking the two opposing halves of the psyche. He can be seen as the purveyor of knowledge from one pole to the other, a unified and consistent figure rightfully occupying the central position of importance in the Norse pantheon. A brief discussion of Neumann's theories will facilitate the ensuing discussion.

Neumann describes the original psychological state as consisting of the unconscious mind with its intuitive thought processes. He terms this matriarchal because he sees this state most clearly exemplified in matriarchal societies organized around a fertility goddess, who governs through the processes of nature. From this state the conscious mind with its rational as opposed to intuitive thought processes and its capability for abstraction develops through a process of evolution. Neumann

13) Jere Fleck, "Óðinn's Self-Sacrifice—A New Interpretation I and II".

terms this state patriarchal because it is realized in patriarchal societies organized around an abstract male god who governs by laws and denies any connection with the matriarchal world of the unconscious. This is often symbolized as in Christianity by a male god who created all things, including the first male human being, out of whom came the first female; the reverse and denial of the natural order of things reflecting a revulsion to the unconscious world associated with female fertility.¹⁴) The male god then brands all connection with female fertility, matriarchal societies and the unconscious mind as evil and chaotic, as is symbolized in Christian mythology by blaming the disobedience of man and subsequent curse of God on Eve and her quest for fecundity with the phallic snake.¹⁵) The two psychological states are antithetical and antagonistic. Corollary to this is the necessity for the reestablishment of communications between the two opposing mental states: a) to prevent stagnation from isolated overindulgence in either the abstract or the physical and b) to prevent the conflicting factions from destroying the individual or society in which they exist. In the preface to his study in *The Great Mother*, Neumann explains the reasons for the work as follows:

... the peril of present-day mankind springs in large part from the one-sidedly patriarchal development of the male consciousness, which is no longer kept in balance by the matriarchal world of the psyche. In this sense the exposition of the archetypal-physical world of the Feminine that we have attempted in our work is also a contribution to a future therapy of culture.

Western mankind must arrive at a synthesis that includes the feminine world—which is also one-sided in its isolation. Only then will the individual human being be able to develop the psychic wholeness that is urgently needed...¹⁶)

C. G. Jung, Neumann's predecessor and teacher speaks of the process of reestablishing communications between the conscious and unconscious mind, and the achievement of a synthesis as follows.

Every period has its bias, its particular prejudice and its psychic ailment. An epoch is like an individual; it has its own limitations of conscious outlook, and therefore requires a compensatory adjustment. This is effected in that

14) Erich Neumann, *The Origins and History of Consciousness*, trans. R. F. C. Hull, Bollingen Series, No. 42, (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1954), pp. 141-4.

15) Erich Neumann, *The Great Mother: An Analysis of the Archetype*, trans. Ralph Manheim, Bollingen Series, No. 47, Second Edition (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1955), p. 50.

16) Neumann, *The Great Mother*, p. xlii.

a poet, a seer, of a leader allows himself to be guided by the unexpressed desire of his times and shows the way . . . to the attainment of that which everyone . . . expects.¹⁷⁾

The dualistic division of the Norse cosmology is readily apparent in the division of the society of the gods into Æsir and Vanir. These opposing groups of gods, the latter significantly marked by association with fertility and the matriarchal practice of incestual marriages, battle each other to an indecisive standstill. The concept of a synthesis is present in the conclusion to their war in which both sides agree to an exchange of hostages and to the creation of a token of their reconciliation. This token is Kvasir, created by the blending of the spittle of both groups of gods. Kvasir is subsequently killed and his blood is fermented into the mead of poetry, the essence, as it were, of synthesis. The mead is later drunk to the dregs by Óðinn, who at this time becomes the primary symbol for the integrated synthesis of the two poles. It is Óðinn, rather than Kvasir, who carries the force of this symbol in Norse mythology because he continues to operate within the societies of gods after Kvasir expires, and because no further mention of the Vanir, except for the hostages given to the Æsir, is made in the mythology. We have then a divine community consisting of the Æsir, and a minority of hostages from the Vanir (who are at times referred to as Æsir)¹⁸⁾ with only Óðinn carrying any trace of the integration of the two groups.

In order to establish Óðinn as symbol of the mediating synthesis of the two psychic poles, it must first be shown that his character contains aspects of both psychological entities, that is, that he is dominated by neither to the exclusion of the other; and second, that his character as a whole does indeed serve the function of intermediary within the framework of the culture described in Nordic mythology. In the following pages, the salient points of Óðinn's various functions, actions and characteristics will be discussed in connection with their relationship to one or both halves of the psychic dichotomy in an effort to demonstrate his essential nature as a synthesis of the two extremes.

Óðinn's relationship with the feminine world of the matriarchal unconscious is not difficult to establish. In fact, the relationship seems to have been preceived within Óðinn's own mythological world. This is

17) Morris Philipson, *An Outline of Jungian Aesthetics* (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1957), p. 128.

18) Haugen, p. 860.

evident in Saxo's account of Óðinn's exile from the company of the gods for his shameful behaviour in wooing Rinda disguised as a woman.¹⁹⁾ It is also seen in Loki's accusation that Óðinn has an "unmanly" soul²⁰⁾ and in Þorr's taunt of "womanish".²¹⁾ Related to this is Óðinn's characteristic dress, the cloak or mantle. In Saxo's account he appears before Harald "clad . . . in a hairy mantle"²²⁾ and in "Grímnismál" he "wore a dark blue mantle".²³⁾ Neumann sees the cloak as a feminine symbol of shelter and protection.²⁴⁾ Neumann's theories ascribe Óðinn's womanishness and his feminine apparel to his capacity as god of magic and his shaman-like acquisition of knowledge which will be discussed below. He states: "... the male shaman or seer is in a high degree 'feminine' And for this reason he often appears in a woman's dress."²⁵⁾

Death as the ultimate destroyer of life is also the ultimate destroyer of the consciousness and thought. The land of the dead, the underworld or Niflhel, is then not only the repository of all life, but also the repository of all knowledge, and hence the practice of recovering wisdom from the land of the dead. Neumann sees the land of the dead as the symbol *par excellence* of the unconscious mind.²⁶⁾ The visit to the land of the dead and successful reemergence from it is viewed not only as a symbolization of the emergence of the consciousness from the unconscious,²⁷⁾ but also as a symbolization of the efforts of the conscious mind to gain the benefits of the intuitive processes of the unconscious. Neumann states: "... when consciousness and reason cannot . . . be drawn upon to decide a situation, the male falls back on the wisdom of the unconscious . . . and thus the unconscious is invoked and set in motion in rite and cult."²⁸⁾ Óðinn engages in this practice on numerous occasions. He conjures the Völva to speak her wisdom in "Völuspá".²⁹⁾

19) Saxo Grammaticus, p. 196.

20) *The Poetic Edda*, "Lokasenna", p. 160.24.

21) *The Poetic Edda*, "Harbarthsljóth", p. 130.27.

22) Saxo Grammaticus, p. 458.

23) *The Poetic Edda*, "Grímnismol", p. 86.

24) Neumann, *The Great Mother*, p. 331.

25) *Ibid.*, p. 296.

26) *Ibid.* pp. 48, 80, 149, 170-1.

27) *Ibid.*, pp. 174 ff. and Neumann, *Origins and History of the Consciousness*, pp. 161, 165.

28) Neumann, *The Great Mother*, p. 295.

29) *The Poetic Edda*, "Völuspá", Intro. p. 1.

He rides his horse, Sleipnir, to Niflhel to conjure the wise woman from her grave in "Baldrs Draumr".³⁰) He obtains knowledge from the severed head of Mimir.³¹) Most significantly, however, Óðinn experiences death itself in his self-sacrifice to obtain the knowledge of runes.³²) Neumann comments as follows:

Here, it is evident, sacrifice, death, rebirth, and wisdom are intertwined on a new plane. Thus tree of life, cross, and gallows tree are ambivalent forms of the maternal tree. What hangs on the tree, the child of the tree mother, suffers death but receives immortality from her, who causes him to rise to her immortal heaven, where he partakes in her essence as giver of wisdom . . . Sacrifice and suffering are the prerequisites of the transformation conferred by her, and this law of dying and becoming is an essential part of the wisdom of the Great Goddess of living things, the goddess of all growth, psychic as well as physical.³³)

Another source of Óðinn's magical knowledge is the son of Ból-Pörn³⁴) whom Turville-Petre identifies as Óðinn's maternal uncle.³⁵) In a matriarchal society the repository of wisdom and authority is a person's maternal uncle. It is through him that the young male is initiated into manhood, and it is by him that the young man is tried.³⁶) It is significant that Óðinn relates his reception of the nine songs from his uncle in the stanza immediately following his account of his own sacrificial hanging. This may indicate that the figure of the uncle has just presided over Óðinn's initiation rite into the mysteries of the matriarchy and that the songs are presented as an initiation gift in reward for Óðinn's successful return from death.³⁷) As stated above, the successful return from death is symbolic of the emergence of consciousness from the unconscious and of the act of integrating the contents of the unconscious into the consciousness. Thus the figure of Óðinn, the god of magic and purveyor of knowledge from the land of

30) *The Poetic Edda*, "Baldrs Draumar", p. 196.2,3,4.

31) Neumann, *The Great Mother*, p. 251, connects the Óðinn-Mimir relationship to the matriarchal system in yet another way. Quoting from Martin Ninck's *Wotan und Germanisches Schicksalsglaube*, he interprets Mimir as being symbolic of an ancient concept of fate common to matriarchal societies.

32) *The Poetic Edda*, "Hovamol", p. 60-1, 139-140.

33) Neumann, *The Great Mother*, p. 252.

34) *The Poetic Edda*, "Hovamol", p. 61, 141.

35) Turville-Petre, p. 49.

36) Neumann, *The Origins and History of Consciousness*, p. 182.

37) Neumann, *The Great Mother*, pp. 174ff. and *The Origins and History of Consciousness*, pp. 161-65.

the dead, is a symbolization of the integration of the intuitive knowledge of the unconscious mind into the consciousness and is a part of his overall role as a symbolization of the mediating synthesis of the two opposing mental forces.³⁸⁾

Óðinn's position as god of poetry serves an identical purpose. Neumann quotes Martin Ninck's interpretation of the story of Óðinn's theft of the mead of poetry and follows his analysis. Speaking of the gift of poetry, Ninck states:

This gift also has a feminine source, as the ancients fully recognized. Gunnlöð holds out the cup to him after three nights of marriage in the darkness of the mountain.... poetry is a weaving, spinning, lacing, binding, fastening,... hence a feminine, Norns' activity yet even in the hands of the volva the male staff is needed to 'awaken' and 'arouse' the song.³⁹⁾

The male staff in Snorri's account is symbolized by Bolverkr's auger, Rati,⁴⁰⁾ by which Bolverkr enters Gunnlöð's abode in the form of a serpent. The transferral of wisdom from the unconscious mind, symbolized by a female figure dwelling in a subterranean cavern,⁴¹⁾ takes place when Óðinn escapes in the form of an eagle after having swallowed the mead of poetry and then disgorged it for the use of gods and men alike.⁴²⁾ Neumann equates the eagle with the sun as a symbol of the consciousness⁴³⁾ in analyses of other mythologies. This equation of the eagle with the sun provides the key for the interpretation of Óðinn's escape as a symbolization of the removal of the contents of the unconscious mind by the flight of the consciousness.

Óðinn's position as god of death derives, in part, naturally and inevitably from his position as god of war. There is, however, another aspect to this matter which is directly related to his affinity to fertility deities. This in turn is directly related to his own self-sacrifice in his quest for knowledge.⁴⁴⁾ Neumann's previously quoted statement concerning the matriarchal law requiring suffering and sacrifice as a pre-

38) Fleck, too, sees Óðinn's self-sacrifice as an initiation, and as an initiation into knowledge. While his analysis of the symbolism surrounding the sacrifice is based on other theories, it too is dependent upon the sexual dichotomy which symbolizes the polar extremes of the Old Norse cosmology.

39) Neumann, *The Great Mother*, p. 304-5, and Martin Ninck, p. 198.

40) *The Prose Edda*, p. 102.

41) Neumann, *The Great Mother*, p. 44-6.

42) *The Prose Edda*, p. 102.

43) Neumann, *The Great Mother*, pp. 183, 57.

44) *The Poetic Edda*, "Hovamol", p. 60.139.

requisite for all forms of growth applies to Óðinn's own growth and development in his role as god of warfare and commander of the gods' forces against the chaos of Ragnarøk. Those whom Óðinn takes for his own are presumably enrolled in the host of champions that inhabits Valhöll in preparation for the final conflict. The interesting aspect of the matter is the form of the sacrifice which Óðinn requires. In the description of the sacrifice of King Víkarr found in *Gautreks saga* Óðinn gives Starkaðr specific instructions that the king must be hanged and wounded with a spear. While Saxo's version differs in details, it relates that the king was hanged and torn with steel. This is indeed almost an exact replica of Óðinn's own sacrifice as described in "Hávamál", as has been pointed out by Turville-Petre.⁴⁵⁾ Ström discusses the hanged sacrifice motif and relates it to fertility rites, specifically those of Freyr. Neumann agrees that this type of sacrifice is indicative of the fertility rites of matriarchal societies and details the sexual implications of this form of death which make it preferable to such rites and to the psychological states which give rise to them.⁴⁶⁾ The spear, however, is a new element, not generally associated with matriarchal sacrifices. It is obviously phallic in form and produces a quite different form of death than strangulation with the noose reflecting the fact that Óðinn is not simply a fertility figure associated with the unconscious but rather a representation of the powers of both the unconscious and conscious mind. Other death rites attributed to Óðinn emphasize the patriarchal or conscious aspect of his position as god of death. The blood-eagle as reported in *Orkneyinga saga* and *Ragnars saga* is the sacrificial parallel to the god as eagle and must also be considered as a symbol of consciousness. The ritual burning of the dead associated with Óðinn⁴⁷⁾ gives another clear indication that Óðinn's position as god of death was associated with consciousness as well as the unconscious. Neumann states that "everywhere the meaning of light and fire is attributed to the divine son . . ." ⁴⁸⁾ and identifies fire as yet another symbol of the patriarchal consciousness.⁴⁹⁾ It is apparent that Óðinn's position as god of death has an added dimension beyond the traditional

45) Turville-Petre, p. 45.

46) Neumann, *The Great Mother*, p. 252 n.

47) Davidson, pp. 51, 52, 54, 148, 152.

48) Neumann, *The Great Mother*, p. 311.

49) Neumann, *The Origins and History of Consciousness*, p. 143.

one of fertility deity, and that an analysis such as Ström's which concentrates on the hanged sacrifice motif leaves untouched those aspects of Óðinn's death rites which are indicative of a god with quite a different nature. Indeed, after the discussion of Óðinn's initiation by fire below, it will be seen that the death rites of this god parallel his own initiation rites and transformations, death by hanging and mutilation, death in a representation of an eagle, and death or funeral rites by fire. Each rite is exactly parallel to one of the points of Óðinn's own relation to the two psychic poles. First, acquisition of knowledge from the unconscious by self-sacrifice in "Hávamál"; second, the acquisition and transportation of knowledge to the consciousness in the eagle's flight in *The Prose Edda*; and third, the achievement of the pinnacle of conscious knowledge through trial by fire in "Grímnismál". The noose and spear symbolize the god's dual nature, the eagle symbolizes his mobility from one pole to the other, and the fire represents his conscious powers.

It is now necessary to discuss those aspects of Óðinn's character which are strictly symbolizations of consciousness. First, his position as father of gods and men. Speaking of the evolutionary process through which the consciousness is developed, Neumann states:

Starting from the final product of this development, from consciousness, with which he identifies himself, the male proceeds to deny the genetic principle, which is precisely the basic principle of the matriarchal world. Or, mythologically speaking, he murders his mother and undertakes the patriarchal revaluation by which the son identified with the father makes himself the source from which the Feminine—like Eve arising from Adam's rib—originated in a spiritual and antinatural way.⁵⁰⁾

Snorri's description of the creation in *The Prose Edda*⁵¹⁾ conforms to this pattern exactly. The genetic principle of the matriarchy is represented in the emergence of the three primordial creatures, Ýmir, Búri, and Auðhumbla from the union of the opposite forces of heat and cold. The matricide is accomplished when Óðinn and his brothers slay Ýmir, the progenitor of their mother, Bestla, and presumably Bestla herself, since none of the race of giants escape the flood of Ýmir's blood except the family of Bergelmir. The denial and patriarchal revaluation takes place when the material of the dead Ýmir is reformed by the brothers

50) Neumann, *The Great Mother*, p. 58.

51) *The Prose Edda*, "The Deluding of Gylfi", p. 33ff.

into the universe, the flesh forming the earth, Óðinn's first daughter and wife, on whom he engenders Þórr, the symbol of masculine strength and power. Neumann further states: "The patriarchal consciousness starts from the standpoint that the spirit is eternal *a priori*; that the spirit was in the beginning."⁵²) The repository of this spirit is identified as Óðinn by his gift of *ond*, "Breath, spirit, soul" to the first man and woman who were created, according to Snorri's account, by Óðinn and his brothers from pieces of driftwood.

The powers of abstraction, or the ability to analyze the input to the conscious mind from the unconscious into its discrete components and to reassemble them into a consistent world view, is one of the more sophisticated and central aspects of consciousness as Neumann sees it.⁵³) This ability is displayed by Óðinn in his capacity as god of war. As has been suggested by Turville-Petre,⁵⁴) the basis for his position as god of war is the necessity of defending the society of gods against Ragnarøk. Informed of the impending disaster by the unconscious in the person of the Völva, he devises the strategy of augmenting the forces of the gods with the heroes and champions of mortal warfare. He allots victory to warring humans, not according to justice or ethics, but rather according to his strategy of taking to himself those most capable of assisting him in the defense of the gods. It is for this reason that he has a reputation for creating strife among men. His ability as a military theorist on a less grand scale is well documented by Saxo, for example, his gift of the secret of the wedge formation to Haraldr Hilditǫnn.⁵⁵)

Another example of Óðinn's ability to interpret the contents of the unconscious and to translate the information into a consistent and effective world view or plan of action is found in Óðinn's begetting of an avenger for Baldr. Informed of the possibility of avenging one son by engendering another by the intuitive processes of the unconscious represented by the wise-woman of "Baldrs Draumr" or by the Finnish diviner, Rostiof, Óðinn devises and sets into action the course detailed by Saxo.⁵⁶) Although the position of military theorist does not exactly

52) Neumann, *The Great Mother*, p. 58.

53) Neumann, *The Origins and History of Consciousness*, pp. 328, 335.

54) Turville-Petre, p. 53.

55) Saxo Grammaticus, p. 458ff.

56) *Ibid.* pp. 192ff.

parallel that of seducer, the reaction of Óðinn to information brought forth from the unconscious in both cases is quite parallel.

There are several other aspects of Óðinn's character, which, although they are not related to any specific division of his god-head, are important facets of his being, and must be discussed in terms of Neumann's symbols of consciousness. These are Óðinn's relation to the initiation rites into what Neumann calls the "higher masculinity".⁵⁷⁾ The first of these concerns fire and the wisdom of lore. Neumann describes the initiation rites as follows.

Fire and other symbols of wakefulness and alertness play an important part in the rites of initiation, where the young men have to 'watch and wake', i.e., learn to overcome the body and the inertia of the unconscious by fighting against tiredness. Keeping awake and the endurance of fear, hunger, and pain go together as essential elements in fortifying the ego and schooling the will. Also, instruction and initiation into the traditional lore are as much a part of the rites as the proofs of will power that have to be given. The criterion of manliness is an undaunted will, the ready ability to defend the ego and consciousness should need arise, and to master one's unconscious impulses and childish fears.⁵⁸⁾

If the hanging sacrifice and ensuing knowledge of "Hávamál" are to be considered an initiation rite into the wisdom of the unconscious, then, indeed, the entirety of the "Grímnismál" represents an initiation rite into the higher reaches of the wisdom of consciousness. In this poem Óðinn is tortured between two fires, so hot they burn away his characteristic mantle. Throughout his torture, Óðinn recites the lore of the gods. The fires represent the fires of cremation discussed above, and are indicative of sacrifice by burning, directly parallel to sacrifice by hanging in "Hávamál". The loss of the mantle symbolizes the fact that he is no longer dependent on the unconscious as a source of protection and knowledge. His recitation proves that he no longer need seek knowledge, but that he has become a source himself.⁵⁹⁾ His consciousness has emerged as an independent self-sufficient entity. "To

57) Neumann, *The Origins and History of Consciousness*, p. 141.

58) *Ibid.*, p. 143.

59) Fleck's arguments in "The 'Knowledge Criterion' in *Grímnismál*," support this reading as he points out that seeing Óðinn's performance in this poem as mere "shamanizing between the fires" is only a glib dismissal of the import of Óðinn's new position as a triumphant god now a source for, rather than a seeker of numinous knowledge. Jere Fleck, "The 'Knowledge Criterion' in *Grímnismál*: A Case Against Shamanism", *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, 86 (1971), p. 64-5.

the race of gods my face have I raised,/And the wished-for aid have I waked;/For to all the gods has the message gone”⁶⁰) There follows a list of Óðinn’s innumerable names, among which is “Vakr” —“The Wakeful”. The message is clearly that Óðinn has become all that is nameable, the embodiment of the patriarchal *a priori* spirit. “. . . and all, methinks, are names for none but me.”⁶¹ The irony is devastating when one considers that the initiate has survived the flames and achieved the highest pinnacle of conscious endeavors, while the initiator, Geirrǫðr, has succumbed to drunkenness, symbolic of the destructive capabilities of the unconscious⁶²) and, as a penalty, goes to his death.

Another matter pertaining to initiation rites, essential to any discussion of Óðinn, is his eye. Neumann states:

The initiation into the men’s house, where the ego becomes conscious of itself, is a ‘mystery’, vouchsafing a secret knowledge that always gravitates around a ‘higher masculinity’. The higher masculinity here in point has no phallic or chthonic accent; its content is not, as in many initiations of young girls, sexuality, but its counterpole, spirit, which appears together with light, the sun, the head, and the eye as symbols of consciousness.⁶³)

Óðinn’s reputation as the most keen-sighted of the gods, despite his missing eye, and his ability to see over the entire world and understand everything he sees when sitting in his high-seat⁶⁴) indicate that he has indeed attained the highest capabilities of the consciousness.

At this point, we have seen that many of Óðinn’s characteristics and actions show him to have high proficiency in both extremes of Neumann’s psychological polarities, while others show him in a central position between the poles, possessing simultaneous affinities with both. His journeys to and from the Land of the Dead show his mastery of the unconscious. His survival of the trial by fire and declaration that he is all that is nameable show his personification of consciousness. However, his functions as god of poetry, war, and death show his medial position since they often depict him as a messenger or mediator between the two opposite extremes. It is from this combination of capacities that Óðinn derives his reputation for untrustworthiness and capricious-

60) *The poetic Edda*, “Grimnismol”, p. 102.45.

61) *Ibid.*, p. 105.54.

62) Neumann, *The Great Mother*, p. 74.

63) Neumann, *The Origins and History of Consciousness*, pp. 141-2.

64) *The Prose Edda*, “The Deluding of Gylfi”, p. 37.

ness. On the matriarchal side it is a result of the fact that during the process of gaining access to the contents of the unconscious, the conscious mind is overpowered and negated, producing a state of possession, during which the individual is at the mercy of the unconscious.

Dependency of the ... unconscious is an unalterable truth; only man's relation to it changes. In the matriarchal phase, the accent for the male is on being dominated, invaded, violated. The male experiences this force that violates him not as something of his own, but as something 'other', alien ... the male rises to a sublimated ... existence of vision, ecstasy, ... and to a state of 'out-of-himselfness' in which he is the instrument of higher powers, whether 'good' or 'evil'.⁶⁵⁾

Neumann follows a line of reasoning similar to Jan DeVries' etymology and believes that it is from his capacity to achieve such a state that Óðinn derives his name,⁶⁶⁾ which is related to Old High German *wuot*, "fury".⁶⁷⁾ On the patriarchal side, this reputation for capriciousness is related to his capacity for abstraction. His ability and willingness to subordinate the affairs of humans to a higher plan, as for example, his military strategy against Ragnarök, is parallel to the Miltonic god's subordinating human affairs to his higher plan, for his son's role as divine savior. This ability earns Óðinn a reputation for fickleness and cruelty among the warriors who must depend on him, just as it does for Jehova among any who read *Paradise Lost* from the standpoint of the human being who must depend on that god.

Prior to concluding, I would like to state that it is by no means necessary to see the Old Norse cosmology only in terms of the sets of opposites used by Neumann: female/male, matriarchal/patriarchal, unconscious/conscious, etc., in order for these terms to be useful in exploring the structure of the cosmology. Indeed, the usefulness of Neumann's theories or any theory for that matter lies in the fact that they provide the critic with a tool for the illumination of a set of symbols which has previously been obdurate in yielding its contents. Danger lies, not in the use of theoretical material, no matter how far removed from the subject of the original text, but rather in making claims on the basis of the theory alone, without adequate support from the subject

65) Neumann, *The Great Mother*, pp. 303-4.

66) *Ibid.*, p. 297.

67) Jan De Vries, *Altnordisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), p. 416; also, De Vries, *Altgermanisch Religions Geschichte* II, §400 & 410 (Berlin, 1957).

under analysis. It is my belief that this paper has provided ample proof of the existence of such support in Old Norse mythology and that other examples of supporting material could be cited by others interested in pursuing the matter. Once support has been established, one must always ask whether the findings are of significance. In this case the establishment of a unified picture for the character of Óðinn and a placement of this figure within the general structure of the cosmology or world view of the Old Norse pantheon can only be viewed as an advancement over the previous collection of often contradictory fragments.

The only appropriate conclusion to this analysis is the following quotation from Saxo Grammaticus:

....it is worth knowing that there were in old times three kinds of magicians, who by diverse sleights practiced extraordinary marvels. The first of these were men of monstrous stock, termed by antiquity giants.... Those who came after these were the first who gained skill in divination from entrails, and attained the Pythonic art. These surpassed the former in the briskness of mental parts as much as they fell behind in bodily condition. Constant wars for supremacy were waged between these and giants: till at last the sorcerers prevailed, subdued the tribe of giants by arms, and acquired not merely the privilege of ruling, but also the repute of being divine. Both of these kinds had extreme skill in deluding the eyesight, knowing how to obscure their own faces and those of others with diverse semblances.... But the third kind of men, springing from the natural union of the first two, did not answer to the nature of their parents either in bodily size or in practice of magic arts; yet these gained credit for divinity with minds that were befooled by their jugglings.⁶⁸⁾

Thus the character of Óðinn does not answer totally to the nature of either the unconscious or consciousness, but rather springs from the natural union and fusion of the two, befooling the minds of men but serving the needs of the society of Nordic gods as a unification of the highest capacities of two opposing forces, a symbolization of the synthesis which Neumann sees as so necessary for survival.

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